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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

have been mailed to the addresses of all those whose orders for the work were received in advance of its publication.

The pages of the REVIEW, in the course of its fifty volumes, have dealt exclusively with subjects relating to the various branches of ecclesiastical practice and science, and THIS INDEX IS THE KEY to this "thesaurus of the English-speaking priest," as the REVIEW has been styled on all sides.

The INDEX IS NECESSARY for all those who have the back volumes of the REVIEW, complete or in part, and most useful to every priest for general reference.

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

SIXTH SERIES.—VOL. III.—(LIII).—NOVEMBER, 1915.—NO. 5.

STATE AID TO CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS.

THE problem of caring for our Catholic defectives, dependents, and delinquents, is a very large problem in the United States. A large proportion of the immigrants who have flocked to American shores in recent years profess the Catholic faith. To most of them, coming to America meant a change from a simple country life to the complex life of our large cities. While this change offered great opportunities to the ambitious and enterprising, it accentuated the failures of the weak and the ambitionless and caused more of them to become dependents on public charity. In their new environment, too, the immigrants were exposed to greater temptations than they had been accustomed to in their old homes. Their moral principles and ideals were thus put to a severer test, a test for which many of them unfortunately were ill prepared. We have here at least a partial reason why so many of our families have been economic and moral failures: economic failures by reason of the fact that they have been unable to provide for the material wants of their members, who have thus become dependents upon public charity, and moral failures in the sense that they have been unable to provide the proper kinds of restraints for their children, who have therefore found their way into the juvenile courts and ultimately into institutions for delinquents. We can, therefore, readily see why the caring for dependents and delinquents should offer such large problems to the Catholic Church in our American industrial centres. These problems arise in part from the failure of many of our immigrants to adapt themselves to their new economic and moral environment and in part also from

the natural or artificial limitations of our economic, political, and religious institutions.

In order to provide for her dependent and delinquent children, the Catholic Church in this country has expended millions of dollars in the erection and equipment of large congregate institutions. The principal motive which inspired the Church in this work and which led her to make such great sacrifices, was the proper religious upbringing of her children, who for one reason or another had to be separated from their own homes. If the religion of these children could be provided for just as well in other ways, there would be no reason for the erection of such a large number of congregate institutions, and if society can in the future discover a better means of providing for the religious training of homeless children, while at the same time making adequate provision for their material well-being, there is no reason why the congregate institutions should be indefinitely continued.

In erecting and maintaining child-caring institutions, the Catholic Church was removing a great burden from the shoulders of the State: it was doing a work which the State would otherwise have to do itself and was thus saving millions of dollars to the taxpayers. The question, then, naturally arose whether or not the Church should be required to continue this work, whether or not it should be required to maintain persons who would otherwise become public charges, without some compensation from the State. It is the purpose of the present article to find out what answer the various States have given to this question. Our information in regard to some of the States is very incomplete, but we have thought it better to present such facts as we could obtain by consulting the reports of the various State Boards of Charity and communicating with persons interested in institutional work, with the hope of arousing some interest among the readers of the REVIEW in this very important subject.

Turning first to the New England States, we find that in Maine it seems to be a fairly well accepted principle that the State should take care of its Catholic defectives, dependents, and delinquents through Catholic institutions and that these institutions should be compensated according to the amount of work they do. In order to obtain compensation, the insti-

tutions must render properly itemized statements to the State Board of Charities, which makes recommendations to the legislature. The total amount appropriated each year for Catholic institutions in Maine is about $16,000. Vermont and New Hampshire contribute small sums each year toward Catholic orphanages and hospitals. In Connecticut there is a law which provides that female delinquents between the ages of 16 and 21 may be committed to any institution that has been chartered by the State Board of Charities. Under this law Catholic female delinquents may be committed to Houses of the Good Shepherd, where the State pays for them on a per capita basis of $3.50 a week. Catholic hospitals in Connecticut receive about $50,000 a year from the State. In addition to these contributions from the State Legislature, various cities in Connecticut also make appropriations for Catholic institutions. Massachusetts aims at placing out in homes all its dependent and delinquent children. When it is impossible to find proper homes for these children, it commits them to public institutions. Only in very rare instances does Massachusetts commit its wards to Catholic institutions.

The Middle Western States, with the single exception of Kansas, do not make any public appropriations for Catholic institutions. In Kansas, the legislature makes a number of small appropriations for Catholic hospitals. Some of the counties in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, however, commit children to Catholic orphan asylums and industrial schools and pay a stipulated amount for their maintenance. The most notable instance of this policy, which has come under our notice, is found in Cook County, Illinois. Cook County pays $10 a month for the care and training of dependent boys and $15 a month for the care and training of dependent girls in Catholic and other private industrial schools. For this work, eight Catholic industrial schools at Chicago receive nearly $150,000 a year.

In no Southern State, so far as we are aware, does the legislature make any appropriation for Catholic institutions. In Louisiana, however, the city of New Orleans contributes $30,000 annually to Catholic child-caring institutions.

Turning to the far Western States, we find that in Arizona, New Mexico, and Washington, private institutions receive no

public money. In Oregon, in recent years, the legislature has been appropriating small sums for institutions of the various religious denominations. In California the State Board of Control is authorized to make provision for needy orphans, half-orphans, or abandoned children. When committed to Catholic or other private institutions, these children are paid for by the State at the rate of $100 a year for full orphans, and $75 a year for half-orphans. Neglected children who come under the juvenile court law may be committed to Catholic or other private institutions, and when so committed they are paid for by the counties on a per capita basis of $11 a month.

In the Atlantic Seaboard States and especially in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the amount of public money contributed to private institutions assumes the largest proportions. In the State of New York the legislature does not as a rule appropriate any money for Catholic or other private institutions. The single exception to this rule is in case of the blind, for whose care in private institutions the State pays a per capita rate of $200 a year. The State constitution of New York, however, authorizes the local subdivisions of the State to make contributions to private institutions for the care and education of such inmates as are received and retained in accordance with the rules of the State Board of Charities. Taking advantage of this constitutional privilege, which remains unchanged in the new constitution, the various cities and counties in the State of New York make provision for the maintenance of defectives, dependents, and delinquents in institutions of their own religious faith or, in case of children, of the religious faith of their parents. New York City makes provision for the maintenance of dependent and delinquent children, the sick poor, the feeble-minded, the deaf and blind in Catholic institutions. Delinquent children of Catholic parents may be committed by the juvenile court to Catholic institutions, and when so committed they are accepted by the city as public charges and paid for on a per capita basis of $150.00 a year. The total amount contributed by the city of New York in 1914 for the maintenance of delinquents in Catholic institutions was $383,063.78. For adult females committed by the courts to Catholic institutions the city pays on a per capita

basis of $110 per annum. The total cost to the city of New York of maintaining this latter class of inmates in Catholic institutions in 1914 amounted to $103,820.98. Dependent children may be committed by the court or the Commissioner of Charities, whereupon they are accepted as public charges and paid for at the rate of $2.50 a week for maintenance, 7 cents a day for education, 7 cents for vocational training. The city of New York, however, is not satisfied with maintaining its dependent children in institutions of the same religious faith as their parents. It makes every effort to have these children placed out in suitable homes. For this purpose it pays duly authorized home-seeking bureaus for dependent children at the rate of $20 for every child placed or permanently indentured in a suitable home; $5 per capita a year for a period of two years for the supervision of children placed in homes outside of the city of New York, and $2.50 per capita for the same period for the supervision of children placed in homes in the city. The total amount contributed by the city of New York for the institutional care, placement, and supervision of Catholic dependents in 1914 was $2,028,762.30. For the care of the sick poor in Catholic hospitals, the city of New York in 1914 contributed $513,921.57 on a per capita basis of $1.25 a day. For the maintenance of the physically defective in Catholic institutions in the same year, the city of New York contributed $169,348.02 on a per capita basis of $1.50 a day for the blind and 60 cents a day for other defectives. Adding up the amounts contributed by the city of New York to Catholic hospitals and child-caring institutions in 1914, we get a total of $3,199,776.44, or $800,000 more than the amount contributed to Jewish and Protestant institutions combined. But this sum, large though it may seem, scarcely represents more than half the annual cost of maintaining Catholic defectives, dependents, and delinquents in New York City. The remainder, including the large cost of erecting and equipping the institutions, has to be borne by private charity.

In New Jersey the constitution forbids the State to make any contributions to private institutions. But, as in other States where such a prohibition exists, the counties and cities are privileged to commit their public wards to Catholic institutions, a privilege which, so far as we are aware, is very little

availed of. In all probability, Pennsylvania appropriates more money for Catholic and other private institutions than any other State in the Union. The biennial appropriation for Catholic institutions in 1913-14 amounted to almost $830,000; the total amount appropriated for all private institutions in the same period being well over three million dollars. In Maryland, the legislature makes an annual appropriation of about $250,000 for Catholic institutions, and in addition the city of Baltimore commits Catholic dependents and delinquents to Catholic institutions and pays for them on a per capita basis. In the District of Columbia a number of Catholic institutions also receive contributions from public funds. By a contract with the Surgeon-General of the United States, one Catholic hospital in the District receives an annual sum of $19,000 for the upkeep of ninety-five beds. The same institution has at times received large appropriations from Congress for building purposes. Between 1902 and 1912 it received $365,579.67. Another Catholic hospital receives $5,000 annually from the District through the Board of Charities for the maintenance of poor patients at the rate of $1.00 a day for adults, and $0.40 for children. In the District of Columbia, all dependent and delinquent children are committed by the juvenile court to the Board of Children's Guardians, which either places them in suitable homes or in institutions of the same religious belief as their parents. Under this plan Catholic children, when suitable homes cannot be found for them, are placed in Catholic orphan asylums or industrial schools where they are paid for by the District Board of Charities at the rate of $100 a year for delinquents, $2.50 a week for dependent children over two years old, and $0.65 a day for babies. The total amount paid by the District for this work to Catholic child-caring institutions in 1914 was $9,413.73.

From the foregoing brief survey it will be seen that our State legislatures do not as a rule appropriate money for Catholic or other private institutions, the great exceptions to this rule being Pennsylvania, Maryland, and California. Most of the public money paid to Catholic institutions for defectives, dependents, and delinquents, comes from the counties and cities. When these local subdivisions of the State pay money to Catholic hospitals or child-caring institutions, they look

upon the payment as a strictly business proposition. They realize that it would cost millions to erect and equip similar institutions of their own and even after these institutions are erected they feel that they cannot expect to develop the same high idealism that finds expression in Catholic or other private institutions. In public institutions the influence of religion, which is so necessary for children who have been separated from their own homes, would be wanting. Public officials could scarcely be expected to give themselves so whole-heartedly to the institutional care of children as the Catholic sisters and brothers who have dedicated their lives to this work.

We are aware, of course, that there are some objections to the payment of public money to private institutions. When large sums of money can be obtained from State legislatures for the erection and maintenance of private institutions, there is a grave danger of such institutions being unduly multiplied. Such appropriations also lead to a system of political log-rolling which is certainly very discreditable to religious institutions. There will, however, be little danger of an unnecessary increase in the number of institutions and of political log-rolling, if the cities, counties, or states make specific payments for specific services, if the public authorities pay only on a per capita basis for such inmates of institutions as have been accepted as public wards. Another objection urged against contributing public money to private institutions is that it prevents the introduction of more up-to-date methods of institutional care. This objection, it must be admitted, has a certain measure of truth in regard to some Catholic institutions caring for public wards. It is not, however, true of the great majority of our Catholic institutions. Catholic congregate institutions, especially in the large cities, are on the whole just as advanced in their methods of treating dependents and delinquents as any other private or public institutions similarly situated. The only means of bringing all Catholic or, for that matter, all child-caring institutions up to the best modern standards is by a proper system of supervision, of which more will be said in another article in these pages.

JOHN O'GRADY.

Catholic University of America.

GOD'S ACRE.

IT has been the teaching of a modern school of thought that education produces refinement, that refinement begets morality, and that morality can replace Christianity. Were such the case, history would have a very different story to hand down to posterity. The fallacy of such a view has been, but too irrefutably, and emphatically, proved by recent events in Europe. The heart has bled, and the imagination been staggered, by the unbounded and wanton acts and extremes to which the military authorities have ventured to go. The principles and practice of morality, reverence, and mercy, are fruits that grow on the tree of Christianity; and no amount of education can ever prove an adequate substitute for the teaching and spirit of the Gospel.

One has a right to hope, even to fully expect, that, during the war at least, cemeteries and churchyards shall be inviolable; that the last and consecrated resting-place of the departed—who, in no way, could affect the progress and fortunes of war—shall be regarded with respect, and spared sacrilege. But, where Christianity is not deeply rooted, and her principles are not predominant in a people, it is natural that, when the passions are inflamed, and let loose, under the grim realities of war, nothing that mankind holds sacred will be treated with honor; that churches will be liable to profanation, graves disturbed and desecrated, human beings violated, and even massacres perpetrated. Under such circumstances, what can, what do such people care about hallowed ground, about "God's Acre"! To them, it is naught that—

> This is the field and acre of our God,
> This is the place where human harvests grow.

THE CHURCHYARD.

"God's Acre" is full of affectionate and holy associations. There, in that mouldering corpse, lies enshrined the secret of a silent love; in another, the story of a life-long struggle; with a third, was buried many a shattered hope, many a tearful prayer. The forms crumbling there are, to the bereaved, human jewels; their dust is, to the mourner, more precious than gold dust.

I like that ancient Saxon phrase, which calls
The burial-ground "God's Acre"! It is just;
It consecrates each grave within its walls,
And breathes a benison o'er the sleeping dust.

Truly, each grave is hallowed ground. It is a shrine where loving memories and reverent hopes are casketed. The occupant of each coffin has been committed to Mother Earth with the helpful and hopeful consolation—"I believe in the Resurrection of the Body". Each grave is a tenement wherein immortal seed has been sown.

God's Acre! Yes, that blessed name imparts
Comfort to those who in the grave have sown
The seed that they had garnered in their hearts,
Their bread of life, alas, no more their own!

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS.

It would appear that, originally, all churchyards were protected by a circular or ovoidal enclosure. There still exists in Wales, a considerable number of such churchyards. This prevalent use of a circular form is very significant. Many remains of ancient habitations still found in the uncultivated uplands, generally within close proximity to the coast, are circular. The many ancient hill fortifications are also circular. The number of ancient stone circles that still remain, also bear evidence to the prevalent use of circular structures in early days. Moreover, the ancient *tumuli,* in which the primitive Britons buried their dead, were always either circular or oval in shape.

The Welsh used to hold their "Gorseddan" in a conspicuous place, "in the face of the Sun, and in the eye of Light", it being considered unlawful to transact any business of a public nature under cover of darkness. The Gorsedd was a circle of erect stones; and within this sacred circle religious and other functions were always performed. Nowadays the Gorsedd, connected with the national Eisteddford, is a circle of rude stones, temporarily placed in an open space.

There is probably some connexion between the circular churchyards and the ancient custom of the Welsh to erect stone circles for the discharge of public matters. Probably, too, the ancient sites wherein religious ceremonies were performed by the Druids, were appropriated by the early Chris-

tians as places of worship; and thus the reverence of the people for those particular spots was not violated, but transferred to the Christian faith on the establishment of Christianity in Great Britain.

The many circular churchyards in Wales must have been so shaped designedly, and it is difficult not to associate these round burial grounds with the remains of similar form in prehistoric times. The peculiarity of shape in so many instances could not have been accidental.

Even if these circular churchyards are not the identical spots on which the ancient inhabitants celebrated their pagan rites, they are at least a connecting link between the paganism of their forefathers and the Christian religion which supplanted it.

Sometimes a path runs round the outside of these circular churchyards. There appears to have been no need for such a road, it being quite unnecessary for traffic; and this path proves to be, upon closer examination, the dried-up bed of a stream. This surrounding water was doubtless looked upon as a sacred barrier, and regarded as a protection from intruders of every kind. It is well known how effective a sunken fence is in preventing cattle straying over prohibited ground; but there formerly was probably some superstition connected with a churchyard being surrounded by water, especially "living" (running) water.

In far-back times, when appeal was constantly made to trial by combat, it was believed that the gods of Valhalla actually presided over these combats; and, to insure their presence, sacrifices were made. To ward off the influence of evil spirits, an island was selected, because it was thought that running water (in fact, water of any kind) had the power to dissolve spells, and prevent the intrusion and malignant influences of black elves and witches. When an island was not to be had, the same effects were attained by surrounding a portion of land with white cords stretched between hazel-wands; and these were called, in High German, "Schranken" or enclosed places. The expression "a tournament they chest", which twice occurs in the poem of "Syr Trystrem", bears, according to the context, the sense of enclosing—not "choosing"; and supplies us with a possible meaning of the word "chester", as

applied to walled (i. e. enclosed) towns, without any reference to the Latin "castrum". The circle has, like the pentacle, always borne a mystical meaning. It is moreover a symbol of eternity, having neither a beginning nor an end; it is probable therefore that churchyards were made circular to typify either the doctrine of immortality or the fact of eternity, and possibly both.

Right of Sanctuary.

The immunity from violence, even to the criminal who had placed himself under the protection of present Deity, which was provided by the Levitical "cities of refuge", and which attached also to the temples of the gods of ancient Greece and Rome, was, when the Empire became Christian, readily accorded to churches and their precincts.

This right of sanctuary existed and was respected even in Anglo-Saxon times. A law of King Canute (1016-1035 A. D.) recognizes four degrees of churches in England. These, "though divinely they have like consecration", held different rank, and had a different penalty attached to a violation of their right of sanctuary: (1) the "heaford mynster", or chief minster; (2) the "medemra mynster", or "ecclesia mediocris"; (3) the "laessa mynster", or smaller parish churches; and (4) "feld-cirices", or field-church, where there was no burial-ground. The "heaford mynster" were probably the cathedrals or mother churches; the "medemra mynsters" answered to churches of ancient date, with wide jurisdiction; and the "feld cirices" were equivalent to district or mission chapels.

This recognition of the right of sanctuary which had, probably, been introduced from the imperial law of Rome, by the influence of missionaries, was an important feature in the administration of the criminal law. King Ine, of Wessex, published a series of laws, between 690-693 A. D., which are the earliest example of West-Saxon legislation. These laws recognized the right of sanctuary attached to a church. Even a murderer who had taken sanctuary was to have his life spared, but was obliged to make "bôt", according to law; and a "theowe", who had incurred "scourging", was to be excused the penalty. The laws of King Alfred (871-901 A.

D.) allowed three days' sanctuary in the "Mynsterham", which is free from the King's farm, or any other free community, with a "bôt" of one hundred and twenty shillings for its violation, to be paid to the brotherhood; and seven days' sanctuary in every church hallowed by the bishop, with the penalty of the king's *mund* and *byrd*—and the Church's *frith*—for its violation. The church "ealdor" was to take care that no one gave food to the refugee. If he was willing to surrender his weapons to his foes, then they were to keep him thirty days, and give notice to his kinsmen, that they might arrange the legal "bôt".

The laws of King Athelstan (925-941 A. D.) further modified the right of sanctuary. A thief or robber who fled to the king or the bishop or to any church, was to have the right of nine days' sanctuary; if he fled to an ealdorman, an abbot, or a thane, only three days' sanctuary; and any person who harbored him longer was to be worthy of the same penalty as the thief.

This right of sanctuary extended to the king's palace as well as to churches. The king's "grith" (protection) extended "from his burhgate where he is dwelling, on its four sides three miles three furlongs and three acres breadth, and nine feet nine palms and nine barley-corns". The limits of sanctuary are still marked by certain stones in the paving near Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh.

Lady Wake says, in her *Reminiscences,* that when her father was in financial difficulties, he was allowed to occupy rooms in Holyrood Palace, that he might be secure from inconvenient creditors; and this in modern times. It must be borne in mind, however, that although sanctuary was theoretically abolished by King Henry VIII, the right lived on in some places until as late as 1697; and that some further steps had to be taken to get rid of the privilege at Westminster.

Mention has already been made of the laws of Canute which recognized different degrees of churches. To each of these a different value of "grith" or protection was assigned. The "grith bryce" or penalty for violation of sanctuary of a heaford mynster was five pounds; of a medemra mynster it was one hundred and twenty shillings; of a laessa mynster, provided it had no burial-ground, the penalty was sixty shillings; and that of a feld cirice was only thirty shillings.

The benefit as well as power of the right of sanctuary was very great. A notable instance is that of Edward IV, who, after the Battle of Tewkesbury, and accompanied by some of his knights with swords in hand, was about to enter the abbey in pursuit of some of the defeated Lancastrians who had sought sanctuary there. The pursuers were met at the door by the priest, bearing the sacred Host, who refused them an admittance until Edward IV had promised pardon to the refugees. Indeed we meet frequently with examples, in the past, of people who, when in danger of liberty or life, sought sanctuary in the nearest church.

The church was not only a sanctuary for the person of the pursued, but it was also a safe depository for the property of individuals. It was very usual to deposit money and valuables in the safe custody of the church. Jews were not permitted this privilege.

Not the church merely, but the churchyard also gave a certain protection. According to Ordericus Vitalis, it was not unusual for villagers, in times of threatened danger, to remove their goods thither; and to build for themselves huts within the precincts of the church, where they dwelt unmolested. From a canon of the Synod of Westminster, 1142 A. D., we learn that agricultural implements placed in the churchyard had certain immunities—probably, freedom from confiscation for debt. By this canon it was further decreed that the ploughs in the fields, with the husbandmen, should enjoy the same immunity.

A similar privilege attached to the person of a bishop. On one occasion St. Hugh of Lincoln met the sheriff and his men haling a man to execution. The good Bishop claimed the criminal and carried him off. On another occasion the Abbot of Battle claimed and exercised the same episcopal privilege.

CHURCH-WALKS.

In the centre of every old village stood the church, the most important, as it is the most interesting, building in the parish. It was the very soul of the place. It was closely associated with all the joys and sorrows, business and festivity, of the parishioners. Its bells summoned them to a business assembly, or bade them arm for the defence of their liberties. Its

vestry was the council chamber of the parish. To the church the villagers brought their worldly goods, in times of danger; and in the steeple stored their weapons of defence—a goodly supply of harness (armor), helmets, bows and shields—all ready for use. Not only for worship did the parishioners assemble on Sundays, but to hear the news, discuss intricate matters of public business, and to devise new schemes for the development and general good of the community. The church was the centre of the social, as well as the religious, life of the village. It vibrated with all the feelings and interests of the parish, and responded to all the pleasures and sorrows, fortunes and fears, of its parishioners.

It is the birthright of every parishioner to be able to get to his church, so a way to it is a necessity. When a parish church had been built, the first question that arose was how to get to it. Those were days, be it remembered, when there were no highway boards with their road surveyors. From this manifest need arose " church walks ", or " church alleys ", as they were called in towns. The church was generally built adjacent to the house of the lord of the manor, who usually granted the necessary permission to the people to cross his land on their way to the church; and, naturally, they would choose the most direct way. This became in time a recognized right of way to the church; it was the " church walk ".

To say the least, the way to the church must, at the first, have been anything but a pleasant walk in wet and rough weather. Doubtless it would be at times also somewhat dangerous. It would be neither pleasant nor safe for feeble folk, and young children, to run the gauntlet of stray cattle on the way to church. Having obtained a right of way to the church, the next step would therefore be to plant hedges, to act as fences. But although the hedges afforded protection from wandering quadrupeds and the wintry blasts, they gave but little shelter from the mid-day sun and the drenching rain. Hence the next step was the necessity of planting trees along each side of the church walk. Their leafy shade gave shelter and made church-going a pleasure. As the church walks extended to the lych-gate of the churchyard, and sometimes even up to the porch itself, the stately avenue made a graceful approach to the church; and the church walk, with the

grey old church standing in its setting of green at the end of the avenue, became the pride and promenade of the village.

It is possible that Shakespeare alluded to the church walk, when he said: "The why is plain as way to parish church"; for in his day these "ways" would be almost in their prime. Amid all the varied charms of English rural scenery, it is doubtful if there be anything more attractive than the shady church walk, bordered by stately and aged elms, that leads to the ancient village church, which is embowered amid its framework of graceful, venerable trees.

It may be remarked in passing that the lych-gate means the dead-gate; and the name of the cathedral city of Lichfield means the field of dead bodies. In Anglo-Saxon the word "lych" means a "dead body"; hence the lych-gate is often rightly called the "corpse-gate". The existence and position of this gate, at the entrance to the churchyard, is significant and full of meaning; the lesson taught is that the lych-gate is both the door of death and the gate of life.

Through the corpse-gate, amid the memorials of the dead, stood the "stocks". They are still to be seen in a few of the old English churchyards. They were used for those who had been guilty of minor offences. It was both wholesome and fitting that those passing through the churchyard should receive object-lessons in the evil consequences of wrong-doing, so the stocks stood there, that worshippers might see the sad instances of shame and sorrow that result from breaking the Divine Commandments, and that the unfortunate sinner locked in the stocks, and who was, thereby, the subject of ridicule or scorn, might realize that the way of transgressors is hard.

There was in God's Acre one building, of which, though it was a general feature within churchyards, there is hardly one of them left standing in England to-day. This building was the "wax house", where the candles, tapers, etc., used in the services of the Church, were carefully manufactured. Formerly there was one of these interesting ecclesiastical buildings at Birchington-on-Sea, in Kent. At one time there must have been a large number of these wax houses throughout the length and breadth of England; and it is strange and lamentable that scarcely one has been allowed to remain standing to tell its tale.

YEWS.

One unfailing feature of almost every old English churchyard is the yew-trees that flourish within the sacred enclosure. They also frequently adorn the courts and precincts of old religious houses. A huge yew-tree occupied the centre of the cloister quadrangle of Bolton Abbey, in England. A magnificent specimen occupies a similar position in Mucross Abbey, Ireland. There is a famous yew-tree at Fountain Abbey, and another in Hayes churchyard, both in England. And the antiquity of the Ankerwyke yew, opposite Runnemede, on the Thames, has been well established.

Some of these yew-trees are remarkable for their age and size. The celebrated yew in Darley churchyard, Derbyshire, is considered one of the finest specimens extant in the British Isles. When measured in 1876, its girth, at four feet from the ground, was thirty-one feet, eight inches; and its age has variously been computed from one thousand to two thousand five hundred years. The yews, still living, at Fountains Abbey, were in a flourishing condition as far back as 1132 A. D., and some are older still.

There are grounds for believing that in former times yews were often the only recognized places for public meetings. According to Lloyd's *History of Highgate,* the famous old yew-tree in Totteridge churchyard was, as the old story goes, the gathering-place of the "gemot" for the northern division of the Hundred of Goare.

In old records the yew is variously spelt "ewe", "hue", "you", and "u"; and many theories have been advanced to account for this tree being such a prominent and constant feature of the old English churchyards. It will be remembered that the poet Gray speaks of—

> The yew-tree's shade
> Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap.

It has been suggested that, on account of their thick foliage, yews were planted in the old churchyards to screen the church from the violence of the winds that rage round a sea-girt land. This theory appears to be founded on a passage in a statute of Edward I, alluding to the planting of trees for this purpose —without, however, any specific mention of the yew—and

prohibiting any tree, thus planted, being cut down for any purpose other than repairing the church. But if the yews thus planted were intended as a shelter from storms, a number would have been planted on the side of the prevailing winds, or else a belt of them would have surrounded the church; instead, we find, except in rare cases, very few yews in each churchyard; often but one, or two.

Another reason alleged for the yew's presence in God's Acre is that it was planted there to afford shelter to worshippers who arrived before the church door was opened. But this suggestion has no weight as every church door in England was, until the Reformation, always daily open to the people.

Almost as groundless is the theory that its poisonous properties explain the yew's prevalence in churchyards. The foliage of this tree is said to be injurious to horses and cattle, therefore, as some have thought, it was planted within the sacred enclosure where animals would be protected from it by the churchyard hedge or wall. But the objection to this view is the number of ancient yews found growing wild in open parks where cattle roamed freely and had easy access to such trees.

There can be little doubt that an important, though not primary, reason for the planting of yew-trees, in the old English churchyards was to obtain material for bows. Indeed, one derivation of yeoman is yew-man, the archers who used the long-bow, that particular kind of bow which was used so effectively and exclusively by the English alone. It is certainly significant that yews do not appear to have been planted in churchyards in other parts of Europe, where the long-bow was not in general use. Evelyn remarks, in his *Silva*: "Since the use of Bows is laid aside among us, the propagation of this tree [yew] is forborne". Shakespeare's allusion, in *Richard II,* to the "double-fatal yew", is usually explained by its employment for death-dealing blows and its poisonous qualities.

In days when the national weapon was the bow there would be good reason for growing yews in the churchyard, where, by reason of it being hallowed ground, the trees would be left untouched. But the slow growth of yews, and their limited

number in each churchyard, make it evident that but a part of the bows required for the archers of the English army could have been yielded by the English yew-trees. As a matter of fact the English species of yew did not yield the best bows. Stringent regulations were laid down in several statutes, requiring merchants to import bow staves from foreign parts. In Queen Elizabeth's time a bow of the best foreign yew cost six shillings and eight pence, while one made of English yew could be then bought for two shillings. Bows made of Spanish yew were considered the best.

The majority of authorities agree that branches of yew were generally employed in England as palms on Palm Sunday; therefore some antiquaries have expressed the opinion that the principal object of planting yew-trees in churchyards was to provide branches of it for this purpose. Certainly there is sufficient evidence to prove that the yew was so used. (1) According to the Notes to Evelyn's *Silva,* branches of the yew "were often carried in procession on Palm Sunday, instead of the Palm". (2) The yew-trees in the churchyards of Kent are, to this day, called palms; and one of the parish books of Woodbury, in Devon, has this entry under the year 1775—"a Yew or Palm-tree". (3) Branches of the yew are, in Ireland, still used as palms, by which name the yew is still called by the Irish. (4) A paragraph in Caxton's *Liber Festivalis* ("Emprynted at Westmynster, 1483") corroborates the foregoing statement: "For encheson [reason] that we have none Olyve, that berith green leef, therefore we take Ewe [yew], in stede of Palme and Olyve, and beren aboute in procession, and so is thys day callyd Palme Sonday".

There is another explanation for the appearance of yews in churchyards, namely, that it was used for church decorations. That this tree was, together with rosemary, ivy, bay, etc., employed in the decoration of churches at the greater festivals is borne out by the entries in the old parish accounts. Those for the parish of St. Lawrence, at Reading, contain the following items: "1644. Pd. for Holly and Ivy, Rosemary and Bayes, att Christmass—0-1-10." "Pd. for Ewe for the church against Easter, and for sticking itt upp—0-1-8."

In some parts of England, especially in Worcestershire, it was long the custom on Good Fridays to decorate the parish churches with the "funereal yew".

It is now time to consider the most important and primary reason for planting yews in churchyards. This was a deeply religious one, and was twofold in its aspect—as an emblem of death, and as a symbol of immortality.

I. As the emblem of Death. The sacred character of the yew is, undoubtedly, of pre-Christian origin. It was a sacred tree with the ancient Druids. The divination wand of the Irish Druids was cut from the yew. In the Hebrides, to have a twig of yew in the house is to this day considered a protection against fire. In the Forest of Dean it is regarded as a charm against the evil design of witches.

The ancients regarded the yew, like the cypress, as the emblem of death, and on this account planted it on their *tumuli* (or burial-barrows). Evelyn states that garlands of it were usually worn at funerals, and certainly no tree presents a more sombre or funereal appearance. Shakespeare speaks of the "dismal yew". Fosbroke terms the tree "a symbol of death". And Blair, when alluding to the yew, says:

> Cheerless, unsocial plant! that loves to dwell
> Midst skulls and coffins, epitaphs and worms.

II. As a symbol of Immortality. That great ecclesiastical antiquary, Dr. Rock, has expressed the opinion that the cultivation of yew-trees within burial-grounds was coincident with the early erection of churchyards in Anglo-Saxon times.

As we have already shown, the pagan inhabitants of the British Isles regarded the yew with veneration, and some religious symbolism attached to it: therefore it is most probable that, when the earliest Christian teachers arrived in Britain, they made use of this religious sentiment of the heathen inhabitants, planted a cross by the side of the yew, and under its shade preached lessons about the true and ampler life beyond the grave—of the "resurrection of the body and the life everlasting".

To the early Christians, what seemed death was but the harbinger of life; therefore he could not agree with his classical forefathers in their employment of the yew as an emblem of a death that was everlasting. It was the very antithesis of this. Hence as a symbol of Immortality, and as a sign of their belief in a future state, the early British Christians began

to cultivate yew-trees in all the burial-grounds of those who died in the new Christian faith.

In some places in England a branch of yew is still carried by the mourners, and thrown into the grave, as a type of hope and eternity. Shakespeare refers to this custom, when he says: "My shroud of white, stuck all with yew"; for in some districts it was usual to place the sprigs of yew inside the coffin instead of throwing them into the open grave; and it is probable that, occasionally, both customs were adopted.

The branches of yew thus cut off from their parent-stock, which was to shoot again at the return of spring, were beautifully emblematical of the resurrection of the body, as, by reason of the perpetual verdure and long life of this evergreen, they were of the immortality of the soul.

In the absence of fuller and clearer evidence, we must therefore assume that the primary reason for planting yews in the old churchyards was a religious one; that the veneration for this evergreen was pre-historic; and that, later, the early Church adopted this veneration by clothing it with a Christian significance.

By its lusty growth, long life, and lasting green, the yew was a fitting symbol of the endless life, the immortality of the soul. It reminded the mourner, as he stood by the grave of a loved one, that death is but the portal to *the* life. Where, therefore, could a more appropriate place be found for the yew than within the hallowed soil of God's Acre?

> Into its deep furrows shall we all be cast,
> In the sure Faith that we shall rise again
> At the "Great Harvest", when the Archangel's blast
> Shall winnow, like a fan, the chaff and grain.

JOHN R. FRYAR.

Canterbury, England.

THE DELAY IN THE DIVORCE TRIAL OF HENRY VIII AND KATHERINE OF ARAGON: CARDINAL WOLSEY'S MANAGEMENT OF THE CASE.

IF some things were done in the course of the negotiations in the divorce suit of Henry VIII for which Clement VII was very sorry, there was no reason for the Pope to reckon amongst these the delay in the settlement of the divorce case itself. Singularly fair-minded through extensive research in the period's history, Mr. Gairdner in his *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* admits that "the court of Rome did nothing in the case but what was strictly just", that the delays were "inevitable". Nevertheless he speaks of the case itself as "a most painful example of the saying, *Summum jus summa injuria.* What consolation was it to the injured Queen Katherine that after her cause had been six years before the world she obtained a sentence from Rome at last? By that time the King had renounced the authority to whose decision he had first appealed and was determined to defy it, while having shut up Katherine for the rest of her days in what was virtually a prison in a lonely country he had married Anne Boleyn without waiting for the sentence." [1]

It is a mistake to assume that a straightforward and honest appeal for a decision on the validity or invalidity of Henry's marriage with Katherine of Aragon was made even at the outset of the negotiations with the Pope. The King, it was said, had sought "the mature and sound judgment of very renowned and celebrated doctors, and of several other men and prelates excelling in every kind of erudition, some theologians, some canonists, living both in his own kingdom and elsewhere, in order to know openly and truly whether the dispensation granted before to himself and to the Queen was valid and sufficient or not, inasmuch as the Queen had been before the wife of his uterine brother." The matter then shifted at once to an attack on the dispensing power of the Pope. "Many and various of these doctors assert that the Pope cannot dispense in the first degree of affinity, as it is prohibited by divine law, morally and naturally, and if he can, all affirm and agree that he cannot except for most urgent

[1] Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England,* I, 293.

and pressing causes, such as did not obtain." [2] Wolsey therefore spared no efforts to impress the Pope with his own judgment of the merits of the King's case. He eloquently declared "the king's business . . . most right, most honest, and most holy, in the procurement of which I do not intervene otherwise than I ought in order to safeguard the salvation of his royal majesty, to preserve this kingdom, to foster public tranquillity, to protect apostolic authority, my life and my soul." Thus there was more at stake than the settlement of a mere marriage case. If the King failed to obtain freedom from the marriage tie that bound him to Katherine, Wolsey feared most disastrous consequences, as the King would attribute his failure only to the domination of the Emperor, Charles V, over the Apostolic See. Consequently Henry VIII might "seek those remedies for his cause, that would furnish, not only to this kingdom, but also to other Christian princes, the occasion of lessening and depreciating the authority and jurisdiction of the Apostolic See, and that not without disturbance of the Christian commonwealth." [3]

Cardinal Wolsey was too much of a diplomat in the King's service and not enough of an ecclesiastic in spirit not to take advantage of the plight to which the papacy had then been reduced. He accused the imperialists of doing everything to exalt the emperor, to usurp and depress the ecclesiastical state.[4] No doubt the sack of Rome with its attendant horrors was calculated to give weight to the charge. Besides, "kings had the immoderate ambition and craving, and of their own power, to seize upon all right, temporal and spiritual, and to upset ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, certainly with the design of destroying the dignity of the Apostolic See." [5] There was no need of pointing to the country where this revolution had already taken place. The Protestant princes of Germany under the tutorship of Lutheran teaching had indeed seized upon ecclesiastical authority to oust the spiritual

[2] Wolsey to Sir Gregory Casale, 5 Dec., 1527; Burnet (Pocock), *History of the Reformation*, IV, 21.

[3] Wolsey to Clement VII, 10 Feb., 1528; ibid., IV, 45. Cf. Secret Instructions given to Staffileo, Jan., 1528. Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation*, I, 47.

[4] Wolsey to Sir Gregory Casale, 5 Dec., 1527; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 28.

[5] Ibid., 24.

power of the Pope and to intrude their own persons as masters, not only of the temporal, but also of the spiritual estate of their subjects. Private judgment might have a place as a party-cry to destroy the spiritual authority of the Pope, but it had no room in the practical or theoretical scheme of government by the princes who stepped into his place. Wolsey carefully instructed his agent at Rome to press all this upon the attention of Clement VII, who would find Henry VIII to be "his firmest shield and safest bulwark", ready to do all in his power even for the conversion of others, if the Pope would but grant of his ordinary or absolute authority what the King requested of him.[6] In fact the King's devotion to the Holy See against the Emperor had been secured by Wolsey's promise of the Pope's readiness to favor the King. A change in that devotion might be due only "to events far different from my promise and his [the King's] expectation".[7] However, no matter what was done, the King's decision had been taken irrevocably, never again "to use or to admit Katherine as a wife".[8]

Such an appeal was no appeal, as it prejudged the case without a hearing, and threatened a revolt against Rome's spiritual authority in case of an adverse decision. Apparently the Roman Curia was convinced that the threatened defection of England was a real danger, and subsequent developments did not belie the correctness of its appreciation of the crisis. Indeed a most delicate task confronted the Roman authorities, to do justice to the King and Queen, and yet not to precipitate the loss of another kingdom to the Roman Catholic Faith. Under the circumstances every delay in reaching a decision possibly fraught with such terrible consequences must have been welcomed with a sense of relief. Unwittingly the King and his advisors furthered this policy of watchful waiting by the amount of time they consumed in pressing various schemes at Rome, some of the wildest character, all for the one sole purpose to satisfy Henry VIII's lust for Anne Boleyn.

At this time they thought it wise not to call into question the dispensing power of the Pope, although the book published

[6] Ibid., pp. 24 ff.

[7] Same to same, Jan., 1528, p. 54.

[8] Ibid., p. 55.

by the King discussed the question and noted opinions to the contrary. The King himself now professed to "adhere to the opinion of those who hold that the Pope is allowed to dispense", but he attacked the validity of the dispensation because of the grounds upon which it was thought to rest.[9] His agents were not content with a mere general commission for a divorce trial; they left no stone unturned in pushing their request for a Decretal Bull to determine the law in such a way as to make the reasons alleged in the dispensation insufficient and the marriage invalid. The joint general commission finally granted to Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio left them free to centre all their efforts on the obtaining of the much desired Decretal Bull. Wolsey promised Clement VII "on his salvation and life to retain the said bull in his keeping most secretly, to be seen by no mortal eyes, with such great fidelity and caution that His Holiness would not experience the least danger or fear of danger therefrom". He did "not desire that commission so ardently for the purpose of having the process or anything else carried on in virtue of it, or of having it shown to any one to be read publicly or privately". He only wished it for the increase of his credit with the King, which would be attained through the deposition of this guarantee and pledge of the greatest paternal benevolence toward the King with himself, proof that the Pope would deny nothing requested of him. Henry VIII had of his own will consecrated all his forces and riches to the conservation of the Apostolic See and to the restoration of its former estate. When he sees His Holiness put so much of his faith in Wolsey, the Cardinal will be able to move Henry "to grant and to do all, even with the shedding of blood, that can be done for the security, tranquillity, and welfare of that See and His Beatitude".[10] On the other hand, the English agents with the Pope had already boldly declared that the refusal of the Decretal Commission would no doubt lead the King "to use domestic *remedio apud suos,* without ventilating his cause, where he perceiveth it is handled, looked on, and heard, as though there were already in men's hearts enrooted *praeju-*

[9] Ehses, *Römische Dokumente zur Geschichte der Ehescheidung Heinrichs VIII. von England,* 1527-1534. Paderborn, 1893, p. 24.

[10] Wolsey to Gregory Casale, 11 May, 1528; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 60.

dicata opinio, that all things were colored, *et nullis nixa radicibus justiciae et veritatis*".[11] Wolsey then represented the situation as so critical as to necessitate an immediate dispatch of the Decretal Commission in the most ample and valid form to be secretly kept by him, if the Pope "wishes this King and his kingdom to be kept in their devotion, if he has regard for my own life and safety, if finally he heartily desires reinstatement, recovery of his own, and of the state of the Apostolic See".[12] At last the Pope yielded to the importunity of Wolsey and his agents. "He [Wolsey] drew me on to this by many and great prayers, showing manifest ruin to his safety to be impending, if it were not given. . . Would that they had sought it otherwise, for I should have easily denied it, and not come to this penitence wherein I would revoke what was done even with the loss of a finger, if it were possible."[13] The Decretal Bull had been wrung from the Pope only to help Cardinal Wolsey in the extreme danger in which he claimed to be. It was given on the condition that it should not have any legal weight in the divorce trial itself. To prevent its abuse for the settlement of the case, it was entrusted to Cardinal Campeggio, by whom it was read to Henry VIII and Wolsey shortly after his arrival in England for the divorce trial. Even then and there Wolsey gave proof of his duplicity. "This is enough for us to inform our consciences," he declared. Campeggio, who had foreseen this trickery, had already said to him that the Pope "had it expedited not because he was of this opinion, but for the help of his most reverend Lordship in view of the instancy made for it." Campeggio kept the bull in his own hands, nor was it to be seen again "except on a new commission from his Beatitude".[14]

Even before the arrival of the Italian Legate in England, Wolsey had taken steps to break down the secrecy of the Decretal Bull. He declared it "most necessary that the Decretal Bull . . . be shown to some of the King's Council to be secretly read", promising to manage it all without detriment to the Pope. "This I pray for so instantly that I can beg for

[11] Gardiner and Fox to Wolsey; Pocock, *Records of Reformation,* I, 110 ff.
[12] Wolsey to Pope, 23 May, 1528; ibid., p. 166.
[13] John Casale to Wolsey, 17 Dec., 1528; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 65 ff.
[14] Campeggio to Salviati, 26 Oct., 1528; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.,* etc., p. 55.

nothing more ardently to preserve my safety." [15] Clement VII saw the real purpose of this request, and firmly refused further concessions in this matter. Wolsey again tried to work on the fears of the Pope. "I cannot reflect upon it and close my eyes," he wrote to Gregory Casale, "for I see ruin, infamy, and subversion of the whole dignity and estimation of the See Apostolic, if this course be persisted in." [16] Complaint was made that the Decretal Bull was kept by Cardinal Campeggio and not entrusted to the King or Cardinal Wolsey himself, who were thus deluded in the hope engendered in them by its concession. The Pope did not conceal his anger and indignation at the bad faith apparent on the part of Cardinal Wolsey, and appealed to the very promises made to the Pope in the Cardinal's letters as proof of the fact. Clement VII was then told that he might rather consider in these letters "the damage, ruin, heresy to arise in that kingdom through the fault of his Holiness; for his royal majesty, badly treated by your Beatitude, affected by injury and ignominy, might change the best endeavor and will that he always entertained toward the Apostolic See, into the contrary; this is to be considered with your whole heart by your Beatitude." [17]

Meanwhile the King's cause was seriously jeopardized through the production of a dispensation brief in England. All that had been done so far assumed that the marriage stood only in virtue of the dispensation bull. The production of the brief by the Queen, who had obtained a copy from Spain, cut away this assumption, and made necessary new commissions unless the brief were a forgery, which was in fact the English contention. The insufficiency of the bull and the falsity of the brief were to be maintained at all cost. Besides, English diplomacy was directed to force from the Pope even during a serious attack of illness a larger commission, general and decretal, with renewed promises of papal confirmation for the results of the trial in England. If the Pope was found unwilling to make such further concessions, "The king's pleasure is that ye then proceed to the protestations mentioned in

[15] Wolsey to Gregory Casale, 4 Oct., 1528; Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation*, I, 176.

[16] Same to same, 1 Nov., 1528; State Papers, VII, 102.

[17] John Casale to Wolsey, 17 Dec., 1528; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 65 ff.

the first instructions given to you Mr. Stevyns (Gardiner), for you and the residue of your colleagues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the pope's holiness therein, if ye come to this speech; but also ye shew and extend unto the cardinals, and other that be your friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent to the church and see apostolic thereby, exhorting them, That they like virtuous fathers have regard thereunto, and not to suffer the pope's holiness, if he would thus wilfully, without reason or discretion to precipitate himself and the said see, which by this refusal is like to suffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any miscontentment that the emperor could take with the contrary. For ye shall say, sure they may be, and so I for my discharge declare, both to the pope's holiness and to them, If this noble and virtuous prince, in this so great and so reasonable a cause, be thus extremely denied of the grace and lawful favor of the church, the pope's holiness shall not fail for the same to lose him and his realm, the French king and his realm, with many other their confederates; besides those that having particular quarrels to the pope and see aforesaid, will not fail, with divers other, as they daily seek occasions, and provoke the king's highness thereunto, which will do the semblable." [18]

The threat of England's defection made in such plain terms must have caused Clement VII intense anguish of mind, advised as he was of the conditions found in England by Cardinal Campeggio. Wolsey had given the latter frequent warning to "beware lest it be said that, as the greatest part of Germany fell away from the Apostolic See through the harshness and severity of one cardinal, another Cardinal gave the same occasion to England with like result. . . . If this divorce be not granted, it is all over with the Apostolic See in this kingdom".[19] Cardinal Wolsey, requested by Campeggio to help him dissuade the King from his project of divorce, refused not to promote "the King's desire, who is supported and justified by many lettered and godfearing men". He declared

[18] Wolsey's instructions to his grace's orators resident in the court of Rome; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 89. Cf. King's draft of a similar speech for the Italian Peter Vannes, 1 Dec., 1528; ibid., p. 74.

[19] Campeggio to Salviati, 17 Oct., 1528; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, p. 50.

again that "there would follow the speedy and total ruin of the kingdom, of his own most reverend Lordship, and of this kingdom's ecclesiastical reputation", unless the King received satisfaction.[20] In fact Campeggio had proof of this from Henry himself, who "gives evidence of a most ardent desire of this dissolution, and seems to me to be so much persuaded of the nullity of that marriage, and to believe it so firmly that I made the conjecture it would be impossible to persuade him otherwise". The King himself told Campeggio "that he wishes no other mean but the declaration whether the marriage be valid or not, while he always presupposes its invalidity; and I believe," Campeggio wrote Salviati, "that, if an angel should descend from heaven, he could not be persuaded otherwise".[21] Months that passed in negotiating for further positions of vantage did not make the King's passion cool. "Surely as far as I understand," remarks Campeggio, "it is a wonderful thing, this love of the King, and in fact he sees nothing, thinks nothing but Anne. Nor can he be one hour without her. It is a matter worthy of commiseration, and on which depends his life, the ruin and state of this kingdom; but it is hoped that, if in some way one could satisfy him, it would shortly come to an end. I doubt it, he would be fascinated anew."[22] The Italian Cardinal had in fact wrung from Wolsey the admission in the efforts to get at his mind "that nothing could be said but that there was no other remedy than in some way to satisfy the King, and let it hold as long as it can till time then bring some remedy". Campeggio therefore believed that the matter was displeasing to Wolsey in his heart who "is forced to dissimulate and show himself fervent in procuring the King's desire".[23]

Under these circumstances it was felt that matters might take a desperate turn. When news came to Rome of the constraint put on Katherine, the papal secretary Salviati two or three times told the imperial ambassador that the queen might best secure her life against poison by entering a convent. In fact hints of poisoning had been thrown out by the English envoys according to the confession of the Pope to Mai, but he

[20] Ibid., p. 48. [21] Ibid., p. 54.

[22] Same to same, 18 Feb., 1529; *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1900, p. 267.

[23] Campeggio to Salviati, 9 Jan., 1529; *Röm. Dok.*, p. 69.

declared that the queen was resolved to run the risk rather than be a bad wife and prejudice her daughter's interests; moreover, if poison was used, the emperor would know how to avenge it.[24] Campeggio was sorry that the queen obstinately refused "thus to escape, without any loss, so great dangers and difficulties",[25] and Salviati felt that a bolder stand could be taken with the safety of the Queen thus assured.[26] However, the queen "wished to live and die in the vocation of matrimony to which God had called her". This was her fixed resolve that even death could not change.[27] The King and Wolsey also seconded the efforts made to have Katherine become a nun with the hope of then getting an uncontroverted license, if possible, for the King to pass licitly to second nuptials. "On this account they did not wish to follow the way and order of the process." The delay was naturally welcome to Campeggio, who duly sent on the King's enquiry for the desired information.[28] None was forthcoming apparently, and so Brian and Vannes were later also instructed to procure a declaration from the Pope "that he could dispense the King to marry another in case the queen entered religion". He did not wait for an answer before scheming for another alternative, as the same men are told in the next phrase to get a statement from the Pope "that he could marry two wives with the legitimization of the offspring from the second".[29] This was the second time that this matter had been broached by the King. For at the very beginning of his suit for a divorce, he had instructed his own agent to petition for a dispensation for bigamy, but at that time he countermanded the

[24] Ehr., XII, 247.

[25] Campeggio to Salviati, 26 Oct., 1528; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, p. 59.

[26] Salviati to Campeggio; Ruscelli, *Lettere di diversi eccelenti,* Venezia, 1556, p. 60, cited HJ., IX, 37.

[27] Campeggio to Salviati, 26 Oct., 1528; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, p. 59.

[28] Same to same, 2 Nov., 1528; ibid., p. 63.

[29] Heads of instructions given to Brian and Vannes, Dec., 1528. Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation,* I, 189. Cf. "Draft of a remonstrance to be made in a personal interview between the queen and the legates May, 1529: Also, whereas your grace peradventure thinketh that in case your grace should enter into religion, that the king's grace should be allowed to marry some other, your grace shall not need to ferr any such thing, for if percase your grace should enter into religion, yet by the law the king's highness may not take another wife during your grace's life, nother yet the pope's holiness can dispense with his grace so to do." Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation,* I, 214.

order at the instance of Cardinal Wolsey.[30] The matter came up some years later for a third time with the result of a clear statement finally made by Clement VII that a license for bigamy was not within the Pope's power to grant.[31]

In the light of all this delay, produced by the vain negotiations of the English, in the hope of overreaching the Pope and his advisors, Campeggio was well warranted to write: "Knowing the benefit that time might bring forth, I have employed different ways to delay the business, in which, it seems, fate has well seconded me, so that the business has been adjourned till the last of May when it was begun." [32] He had been actually waiting in England for the opening of the process from October, 1528, to 31 May, 1529. Even then the English were intent on furthering negotiations, but they felt constrained to make a beginning of the judicial process, as the King's men had been called upon "to make answer why the supplication presented for the advocation of the cause should not proceed".[33] A little before this the King himself strove to encourage his orators to renewed efforts in spite of the rumored successes of the imperialists with the Pope, concluding with a very significant order, "if it be possible to retain some notable and excellent divine, a frere, or other that may, can, or will firmly stick to our causes, in leaning to that, quod pontifex ex jure divino non potest dispensare." [34]

Some of the King's agents were left at Rome to "frustrate and make void advocation, revocation, or inhibition or else provocation, appellation, protestation or any other act to be done here by the Caesarians." [35] Gregory Casale at once began to practise his old tricks and pictured the removal of the King's cause from England as "injury and ignominy" to Henry VIII and Wolsey, "from which the King would take cause to proceed somehow in his own case with the neglect of the Pope and contrary to papal reverence and authority. For

[30] Ehr., XI, 685, note 40; State Papers, VII, 3.

[31] Bennet to Henry VIII, 27 Oct., 1530; Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation*, I, 458 ff.

[32] Campeggio to Salviati, 21 June, 1529; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, p. 107.

[33] Despatch to Rome, 21 May, 1529; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 108.

[34] King to his ambassadors, 6 Apr., 1529; ibid., p. 117.

[35] Benet to Wolsey, 27 June, 1529; Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation*, I, 236.

this course of action there were not wanting counsels of most learned men both of France and England." These words were not in vain, especially when the imperialists could be assured on the faith of Casale that nothing would be done in England in regard to the process till a decision had been reached on the falsity of the brief.[36] News from England, especially in the letters from Campeggio, showed the process actually in progress, and proved the bad faith of Casale and those who supported him in his contention. However the King's orators met Campeggio's letters with a brazen lie, to which, they naively complained, not much credence was given.[37] When they could no longer deny the beginning of the process, they readily listened to the suggestion of Salviati who declared only one way possible then to stay the Pope from advoking the cause to Rome, namely, assurance that no sentence would be pronounced in England. Immediately they pledged their faith to this by a hundred oaths.[38] A little later they gave the assurance "that the Cardinals in England would never come to pronounce judgment, nor would the King allow it, unless he were first most secure of the ratification of the sentence, and of other promises, necessarily to be conceded by His Holiness much before it came down to the sentence. We also showed our most Holy Lord the immense and manifest scandals, the great dishonor, the highest infamy, and the irreparable ruin that would result from this advocation not only to his royal majesty, but also to the Apostolic See and the whole world; all of which we so inculcated in the heart of our most Holy Lord and the Lord Salviati that both of them agreed to our reasons, with the intention and hope also to move the Caesarians to agree to these reasons, unless something new should arise." Little could be done with the Caesarians, who knew that the process was hurried in order to pronounce sentence against the queen, and the Pope could not stay justice when they were able to show in due form the mandate of the queen to push her appeal. No resource was left to the English but to threaten "the defection of the English and French Church from the Roman See," "great and irre-

[36] Gregory Casale to Wolsey, 5 June, 1529; ibid., pp. 232 ff.

[37] Benet to Casale and Vannes to Wolsey, 28 June, 1529; ibid., p. 244.

[38] Ibid., p. 243.

parable evils". The Pope could say nothing but bewail his lot. "Woe, woe is me! no one perceives all this better than I: but I so find myself between the forge and the hammer that, when I wished to gratify his royal majesty, the whole tempest is converted on my head, and, what is worse, on the Church of Christ." He knew and the English realized that the petition for the advocation of the cause to Rome had to be granted when presented in the next session of the Signatura by the Caesarians.[39] The Pope could justify the necessity of yielding to the petition by the way the trial was hurried in England, of which he was assured by the letters of Campeggio.[40] Campeggio himself was disgusted with the procedure, but a deaf ear was turned to his remonstrances. "In another one's house a man cannot do all he wishes. But the case is undefended; attornies, lawyers and witnesses are not wanting to a King and that in his own house, where his grace and favor is desired. (The Bishops) of Rochester and St. Asaph speak in favor of the marriage and have given some books, also some doctors, but with fear and as of themselves, nor does any one speak any longer in the name of the queen. An avocation or suspension is expected."[41] Under these circumstances Campeggio was glad to arrest the headlong progress of the trial on 23 July, 1529, by taking advantage of the Roman holidays to prorogue the court to 1 October. However, the advocation to Rome had already been decreed a week previous to this date.

The King in the farewell audience he granted to Campeggio claimed rather bitterly "that he had been directed from Rome to get a judgment, as a matter once decided is thereafter of another nature". No such communication ever reached the legate directly or indirectly, although Campeggio was not sure that Dr. Stephen Gardiner had not written some

[39] Benet, Casale and Vannes to Wolsey, 9 July, 1529; Pocock, *Recs. of Reformation*, I, 250-258. Cf. especially Benet to Wolsey, same date; Burnet (Pocock), IV, 122 ff. The King's instructions to his ambassadors, 23 June, 1529, contain another point to be strongly urged. "Ye shall not forget the prerogative of our crown royal and jurisdiction royal by the ancient laws of our realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the pope to the prejudice thereof, and also what danger they should incur that would presume to bring or present any such thing unto the same, as in our last letters sent by Alexander was touched at good length." Burnet (Pocock), IV, 121.

[40] Same to same, 16 July, 1529; ibid., p. 262.

[41] Campeggio to Salviati, 13 July, 1529; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, pp. 119 ff.

such thing to his Majesty. "Whatever it was that made Henry VIII stand by this opinion, having been persuaded here by others that his marriage is absolutely null by divine right, he cannot but be somewhat angry and sorry that the business did not succeed to his liking." [42]

There was still one chance of pushing the matter forward to his satisfaction, namely, to get possession of the Decretal Bull. He therefore gave orders not to respect legatine rights, but to ransack the baggage of Campeggio before his departure across the Channel from Dover. This examination only laid bare the extreme poverty of the Italian Cardinal.[43] The Decretal Bull could not be found amongst his effects, as Campeggio had obeyed the orders Campana had brought him from the Pope who had commanded its destruction when he saw English effort directed to make it the basis of judicial action contrary to the most sacred promises of Wolsey.[44] The English Cardinal's fate was already sealed in the judgment of Campeggio. "As soon as I left London, what was preparing until now against the Cardinal of York, began to break out with great fury. Before I crossed the sea, I heard thereof, how they have taken from him the Seal, the management of all affairs, and a great part of his servants, and made investigation of his money and other goods, with signs most evident of tending to his ruin." [45] In fact Wolsey was indicted on a *praemunire* because of the exercise of legatine authority in England which had been granted him at the request and in the interest of Henry VIII. He confessed himself guilty and threw himself on the King's mercy in order to escape impeachment by Parliament. Respite for a year was given him before he was put under arrest on the charge of treason. Only death while on his way to London saved him from the impending execution. Misfortune in his last days had opened his eyes to real truth. "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study that I have had to do him

[42] Campeggio to Salviati, 13 July, 1529; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, pp. 119 ff.

[43] Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, 1509-1530, II, 375.

[44] Campeggio to Salviati, 21 June, 1529; Ehses, *Röm. Dok.*, p. 108.

[45] Same to same, 5 Nov., 1529; ibid.

service, not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfy his pleasure." [46]

FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN.

Rochester, N. Y.

THE PRIEST A GENTLEMAN.

The best of men
That e'er wore earth about him was a sufferer;
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit,
The first true gentleman that ever breathed.
—*Thomas Decker* (1641).

To be a gentleman is to be honest, to be gentle, to be generous, to be brave, to be wise, and, possessing all these qualities, to exercise them in the most graceful outward manner.—*Thackeray.*

If you wish to labor with fruitfulness in the conversion of souls, you must pour the balsam of sweetness upon the wine of your zeal, that it may not be too fiery, but mild, soothing, patient, and full of compassion. For the human soul is so constituted that by rigor it becomes harder, but mildness completely softens it.—*St. Francis of Sales.*

ANY one who has ever pursued, either as a business or a hobby, the study of words—their origin, derivation, structure, history, and significance—must have noticed how with the lapse of time many terms once honorable have become debased, and many others once mean or degraded have attained decorum and dignity. Eventually, it may be in the course of a century or two, the original meanings of such words are forgotten, have grown obsolete; but in the interim they are expressive of varying degrees of their native and their acquired signification, and may connote either honor or infamy. A good instance of a word still undergoing the process of deterioration is the last term in the title of this article. "Perhaps no honorable word in the language," writes an American essayist, "has been more debased than *gentleman*." His statement is of course exaggerated. "Gentleman" is not yet a term of reproach, as is the once unobjectionable "villain", and the essayist himself would probably resent the imputation of being "no gentleman"; but in present-day usage the term is undoubtedly very loosely and at times rather grotesquely employed.

[46] Cavendish in Galt, *Append. Cavendish's Narrative*, p. 243, cited HJ., IX, 6473.

The " gentlemen electors " whom the political candidate addresses so unctuously at a ward meeting in the city's slums scarcely conform to the definition of the sixteenth-century chronicler, Holinshed: " Gentlemen be those whom their race and bloud, or at least their vertues do make noble and knowne ". The valet, or body-servant, who is dowered with the title of " gentleman's gentleman " probably claims no special nobility of birth, exceptionally acute sense of honor, or even a plethoric purse. No more, presumably, did the American hack-driver who, something more than half a century ago, asked the visiting Duke of Saxe-Weimar: " Are you the *man* that's going to ride with me, for I'm the *gentleman* that's going to drive?". If a *reductio ad absurdum* be required, it may well be found in the reply of the colored chicken-thief to the magistrate's question: " Are you the defendant in this case? "—" N-no, sah, I'se de gentleman what stole the chickens." The cheapening of the word has been accelerated rather than retarded during the last half-century, and even in 1850 the English laureate sang of his dead friend:

> And thus he bore without abuse
> The grand old name of gentleman,
> Debased by every charlatan,
> And soiled with all ignoble use.

Notwithstanding such ignoble use, however, there are several senses in which the word " gentleman " remains a title of honor and respect. In a democratic country such as ours the historic meaning of the word is of course archaic if not obsolete; but, even on this side of the Atlantic, the following definitions still hold good: " In a loose sense, any man whose breeding, education, occupation, or income raises him above menial service or an ordinary trade," and " A man of good breeding, courtesy, and kindness; hence, a man distinguished for fine sense of honor, strict regard for his obligations, and consideration for the rights and feelings of others." As employed by persons of genuine Christian culture, the word does not necessarily connote either " gentle birth ", or wealth, or the abundant leisure which wealth permits. As to this last point, the American idea was rather graphically expressed a few years ago by a New York barrister who, in reply to a transatlantic visitor's comment, " You don't seem to have any

gentry in this country," inquired, "Pray, just what do you mean by gentry?"—"Oh, well; gentry, don't you know, are persons who don't do anything themselves, and whose fathers before them never did anything either."—"In that case," said the barrister ," we have lots of gentry in this country; but we don't call them by that name: we call them tramps."

It is hardly necessary to remark that one's being, or not being, a gentleman in the best sense of the word is a matter dependent, like the salvation of one's soul, entirely upon oneself. Were it otherwise, this article's title would be a fallacy and its purpose a futility. No more than other persons have priests any control over the accident of their birth in this or that social grade, in the leisure or the working class, in the lap of luxury or in approximate indigence. A considerable number of us in this country can probably say, with a charming Southern authoress, that we "were born of poor but Irish parents"; and unless we are snobs or cads instead of gentlemen, we feel no call to apologize for the fact. It is worth while remarking that in Newman's celebrated (and often misunderstood) portrait of "the ethical character which the cultivated intellect will form, apart from religious principle", he pretermits any reference to birth, family, ancestors, heredity, or other circumstances over which his "gentleman" has, and can have, no controlling influence. As a classic is always new, it will perhaps be permissible to reproduce once more the oft-quoted passage from his *Idea of a University*:

Hence it is that it is almost a definition of a gentleman to say that he is one who never inflicts pain. . . . He is mainly occupied in merely removing the obstacles which hinder the free and unembarrassed action of those about him; and he concurs with their movements rather than takes the initiative himself. His benefits may be considered parallel to what are called comforts or conveniences in arrangements of a personal nature; like an easy chair or a good fire which do their part in dispelling cold and fatigue, though nature provides both means of rest and animal heat without them. The true gentleman in like manner carefully avoids whatever may cause a jar or a jolt in the minds of those with whom he is cast;—all clashing of opinion, or collision of feeling, all restraint, or suspicion or gloom, or resentment; his great concern being to make every one at his ease and at home. He has his eyes on all his company; he is

tender towards the bashful, gentle towards the distant, and merciful towards the absurd; he can recollect to whom he is speaking; he guards against unseasonable allusions, or topics which may irritate; he is seldom prominent in conversation and never wearisome. He makes light of favors while he does them, and seems to be receiving when he is conferring. He never speaks of himself except when compelled, never defends himself by a mere retort, he has no ears for slander or gossip, is scrupulous in imputing motives to those who interfere with him, and interprets everything for the best. He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage, never mistakes personalities or sharp sayings for arguments, or insinuates evil which he dares not say out. From a long-sighted prudence, he observes the maxim of the ancient sage, that we should conduct ourselves towards our enemy as if he were one day to be our friend. He has too much good sense to be affronted at insults, he is too well employed to remember injuries, and too indolent to bear malice. He is patient, forbearing, and resigned on philosophical principles; he submits to pain because it is inevitable, to bereavement because it is irreparable, and to death because it is his destiny.

An attractive portrait, the foregoing; and it is scarcely to be wondered at that many a reader of *Characteristics of Newman* or *Extracts from Newman* should mistake it for a picture of what the great Cardinal never intended it to be, and expressly states it is not—the *Christian* gentleman. The lineaments he has so accurately drawn are seen, he tells us, "within the pale of the Church and without it, in holy men and in profligates; they form the beau-ideal of the world; they partly assist and partly distort the development of the Catholic." As for the essential characteristics of Christian, and especially sacerdotal, gentlemanliness, we find them admirably set forth in an etching drawn by a greater than Newman. The gentlemanliness of the true priest is, if not identical with charity, at least so near akin thereto that "it is patient, is kind, envieth not, dealeth not perversely, is not puffed up, is not ambitious, seeketh not her own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth with the truth, beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things".[1]

There is one fallacy about this matter of being a gentleman which, although not perhaps so prevalent among priests as

[1] I Cor. 13:4-7.

among their lay brethren, is yet sufficiently common to merit exposure. It is undue insistence on the scriptural truth that "all the beauty of the king's daughter is from within", undue straining of Tennyson's "kind hearts are more than coronets", and Burns's "the rank is but the guinea stamp, the man's the gowd for a' that". Obviously what one *is* matters a great deal more than what one appears to be, and a "good heart" is a more precious possession than the most polished manners; but to conclude that appearances therefore count for little or nothing, and that politeness and conventional good form are negligible appurtenances of the priestly character is a capital mistake. Even if we question Paley's dictum, that "manners are minor morals," we can hardly doubt Bartol's, that "good manners and good morals are sworn friends and fast allies". Until human nature becomes radically transformed, the exterior of a man, priest or layman, will count for a great deal, not only in the estimate formed of him by his fellows, but in the extent and force of the influence which he exerts on the world around him. "No doubt," says Mathews, "there are a few men who can look beyond the husk or shell of a fellow-being—his angularities, awkwardness, or eccentricity—to the hidden qualities within; who can discern the diamond however encrusted; but the majority are neither so sharp-eyed nor so tolerant, and judge a person by his appearance and his demeanor more than by his substantial qualities."

It is nothing to the purpose to object that conventional politeness may coëxist with a corrupt heart, that Newman's philosophical gentleman may be a profligate, that "one may smile and smile and be a villain"; the fact remains that good manners are essential to him who would exert the most beneficent possible influence on the circle in which he habitually moves. Moreover, while genuine politeness, it is true, comes from within, from the heart, still, as John Hall shrewdly remarks, "if the forms of politeness are dispensed with, the spirit and the thing itself soon die away". Another consideration worth thinking about is thus phrased by Lord Chesterfield: "A man's own good breeding is the best security against other people's ill manners. It carries along with it a dignity that is respected by the most petulant. Ill-breeding invites and authorizes the familiarity of the most timid. No man

ever said a pert thing to the Duke of Marlborough. No man ever said a civil one to Sir Robert Walpole." The reader's memory will readily supply more than a few clerical names which might well replace in this extract that of the courteous Duke, and it is possible that he can also recall a Father X or Father Z who would have made in the same connexion a fairly good substitute for Sir Robert.

Enough of generalizing: let us enter into some details as to the priest's practical exemplification of the fact that he is in very deed and truth a gentleman. If he really deserves the name, his right thereto will be made evident by his dress; by his ordinary deportment; by his deference to social conventions in such matters as table etiquette; by his everyday relations with those of his household and the various classes of his parishioners; by his language in the sacristy, the pulpit, the confessional, in the company of his brother-clerics, and in his intercourse with his fellow-citizens, Catholic and non-Catholic; and especially by his conduct, not merely in matters of moment, but in those minor ones which, according to Wordsworth, constitute the

> best portion of a good man's life,—
> His little, nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love.

To dress as a gentleman is to be inconspicuous in the matter of attire among other gentlemen of one's age and profession. "A gentleman's taste in dress," says Bulwer, "is upon principle the avoidance of all things extravagant. . . . It consists in the quiet simplicity of exquisite neatness." This quality of simplicity, it is needless to remark, is especially congruous to the priestly garb. The cleric whose clothes in material and style, are much the same as those of his clerical brethren throughout his diocese or his country is probably preserving the just mean between foppishness on the one hand and slovenliness on the other. As between the fop and the sloven there is not perhaps much choice. If the occasional young priest who apparently aspires to be "the glass of fashion and the mould of form" is an incongruous figure, the occasional middle-aged or old one who rather affects threadbare, untidy, slouchy garments is not invariably an edifying spectacle. Even the vow of poverty which religious take does not militate

against cleanliness and neatness of apparel; and in the writer's personal experience, the most slovenly, ill-dressed priests he has ever met were so far from being straitened by poverty's vow that they had very respectable bank accounts. To have done with this part of our subject: an essayist who probably wrote for others than clerics has expressed upon it an opinion with which many a priest will agree: "The perfection of dress is in the union of three requisites—in its being comfortable, serviceable, and tasteful."

As for the multiform points of social behavior, the conventional requirements of everyday intercourse with others, the proprieties of conduct which prescriptive usage makes obligatory on all who aspire to pass for gentlemen—good manners, in a word—it is well to remember that, as the author of *Spare Hours* declares: "Etiquette, with all its littlenesses and niceties, is founded upon a central idea of right and wrong." While there may be occasions when the deliberate neglect of such niceties is a manifestation of more genuine politeness than would be their observance, these fine points of etiquette do not, as a rule, conflict with any higher duty or quasi-obligation, and consequently are not to be disregarded. If Father Patrick, taking dinner with one of his parishioners out in the country, conforms to the local custom of drinking his coffee from his saucer and eating his peas with his knife, his kindly motive deprives his action of all boorishness or "bad form"; but he certainly should not acquire the habit of doing so. Nor need he, even on the score of kindliness, imitate the manners of his rural entertainer so closely as to sit down to the table in his shirt sleeves. And so of all the other little acts and courtesies and civilities and observances which constitute the rites and ceremonies of social life: they may not be infallible indexes of the truest politeness, but at the same time they are so far from being incompatible therewith that the presumption is in favor of those who observe them.

In the matter of his words—in conversation, sermons, instruction to penitents, and every other form of discourse—a prime consideration for the priest to bear in mind is that, whatever else a gentleman may or may not be, he must at any rate show himself a *gentle man*. If there is any one characteristic of "the first true gentleman that ever breathed" which

should distinguish him who has so many claims to the appellation *alter Christus,* it is assuredly His loving-kindness that was ever mild, sympathetic, tender, courteous, and merciful. There is abundant material for frequent sacerdotal meditation in this counsel of St. Francis of Sales: "Whoever has the direction of souls should deal with them as God and the angels do—with admonitions, suggestions, entreaties, and 'with all patience and doctrine'. He must knock at the door of the heart like the Spouse and try gently to open it: if he succeeds, he must introduce salvation with gladness; but if a refusal comes, he must bear it patiently. It is thus that our Lord acts. Though He is Master of all, He bears with our long resistance to His lights, and our many rebellions against His inspirations; and even if He be forced to withdraw from those who will not walk in His way, He does not cease to renew His inspirations and invitations."

This suggested method of procedure is to be recommended not merely in the pulpit, the confessional, and the sick-room where the priest is professedly acting in his pastoral capacity, but in the whole tenor of his normal life. The gentlemanly priest must, in a word, possess and habitually practise a goodly store of what the same St. Francis of Sales calls "the little virtues—humility, patience, meekness, benignity, bearing one another's burdens, condescension, softness of heart, cheerfulness, cordiality, compassion, forgiving injuries, simplicity, and candor". The precepts of true gentlemanliness oblige *semper et pro semper,* and no cleric can afford to give even a shadow of pretext for such criticism as was once passed on an English statesman: "Canning can never be a gentleman for more than three hours at a time." To be courteous abroad and curt at home; genial, affable, and polite to strangers and acquaintances, but gruff, stern, peevish, testy, or surly to house-keeper and servants, assistants, altar-boys, and teachers, is to proclaim oneself a churl in spirit, and a fit subject for the admonition of Ecclesiasticus: "Be not as a lion in thy house, terrifying them of thy household, and oppressing them that are under thee" (4: 35). A moralist who resembled a good many of us in that he did not always practice what he preached, Dr. Johnson, said on a certain occasion: "Sir, a man has no more right to *say* an uncivil thing than to act one;

no more right to say a rude thing to another than to knock him down."

Apropos of altar-boys, the wise cleric considers and treats each of them as a potential priest. He reflects that the apparently mighty distance which separates the pastor of thirty from his server of thirteen will undergo very notable shrinkage in the course of two or three decades, and that the Father Charles of the future, his oldtime pastor's full equal in dignity, will probably retain very vivid memories of how that pastor treated the little Charlie of the present. One altar-boy of the late 'sixties of the last century still joys in recalling the invariable kindness and courtesy of his first pastor, a gentlemanly priest of the old school—Father John Quinn, of St. George, New Brunswick, long ago gone to his reward; and not the least grateful of my memories of that far-off period is of Father John's detaining his altar-boys in the sacristy on the morning of the "great day" of the summer, and giving us fifty cents apiece, with the injunction to be sure to go to the circus and eat plenty of peanuts.

It may perhaps be objected that such a priestly character as has been imperfectly sketched in the foregoing paragraphs is likely to have the defects of his qualities; that after all there are occasions when gentleness ceases to be a virtue; and that even our incomparable Exemplar sternly rebuked the Scribes and Pharisees and "cast out them that bought and sold in the temple". Very true; and moreover St. Paul says, "Be angry and sin not"; but the trouble is that we are all as apt to neglect the second part of the great Apostle's advice as we are to obey its first part, and to attribute to pure priestly zeal the harsh words and occasionally harsher actions which are really ebullitions of sinful ill-temper. The most gentlemanly priest may, nay, at times *must,* display indignation and even inflict pain; but the times are perhaps fewer than some of us like to believe, and in any case there is no valid excuse for such action's being quasi-habitual. Say what he will, the sacerdotal bully or scold—in church or home or elsewhere—can find no justification of his conduct in either the Gospel of our Lord or the Lives of His Saints.

ARTHUR BARRY O'NEILL, C.S.C.

Notre Dame, Indiana.

THE HALACHOTH OF ST. PAUL.

II. The Law versus the Law.

IN the preliminary article on the "Halachoth of St. Paul"[1] I outlined a train of thought, the place of which was quickly taken by another. *Vide alteram partem.* It is hard to be a discoverer. Here in Minnesota, recently there has been unearthed a rune-stone, which shows that a party of Swedes wandered hither one hundred and sixty years before Columbus arrived at San Salvador. In regard to our subject, it may not be true that Jewish thought was so much neglected as at first sight appeared. St. Jerome certainly cultivated it; St. Thomas, who quotes Maimonides, certainly knew it. Perhaps the land of which I wrote, was known long ago and abandoned as utterly sterile. This will be known only in the sequel.

Again, to change the metaphor, a key may press upon every spring in a lock; it may be the right key, and still, on account of rust, it may fail to throw the bolt. The writings of St. Paul down to the last word thereof, after all these centuries, have been thoroughly scrutinized; every difficulty in them has been dissipated by Scholastic Theology; every question has been asked; every question has been answered; the obscure places have been illumined by the clear; and all set forth in harmony with the Tradition of the Church. Furthermore, like a great steam-roller, this Theology has passed over the disputes of Jerome, Augustine, and others, and ironed them out. "The crooked have been made straight and the rough ways plain". Theology has often insensibly taken the place of commentary, and to change the commentary even in a few passages, now might look like an attack on Theology. From this every Catholic recoils. The accumulation of ages may make a new solution impossible or impertinent.

Still, and this thought encourages us to go on, Theology from time to time loses some of its supports, although it has enough left. Some Scriptural texts, which were at one time confidently advanced to prove purgatory, the resurrection of the body, and other dogmas of Faith, are not so confidently advanced now. In proving the jurisdiction of the Roman Pon-

[1] October number, pp. 403-410.

tiffs, it was natural, besides other arguments, to point to the decretals of the Popes from the beginning; it was disappointing to find that many of these early decretals could not be relied upon. Now if for centuries our schools could have made use of helps that were not really helps, could it not be, likewise, that they have expended much ingenuity in removing hindrances which were not really hindrances? If he who points out that such helps, like rotten staves, are not to be leaned upon, deserves well; he that points out the innocuous nature of the hindrances, also deserves well. Now there are certain expressions of St. Paul, which, taken in one way, have given great difficulty to Catholics and have furnished a basis for the system of Luther and Calvin, whereas, taken in another, which is not arbitrary but arises out of history, they are perfectly innocuous and make Lutheranism and Calvinism ridiculous. Would it not be well to prove this? It is this interpretation—an earnest attempt to get a clearer insight into the viewpoint of St. Paul and the first meaning of his words—that I shall set forth as a possible solution of the Pauline problem side by side with the older one. It not only has history on its side and agrees exactly with the wording of St. Paul, but it takes away the cause of that shock which we feel when we read that the Mosaic Law was a prison of infidelity and a jailor of all under a curse.

Accordingly, I make the following assertions, which formally or informally I shall endeavor to prove. The religion of the Law of Moses, which in this discussion I shall call Mosaism, was the dominant religion of the Israelites up to and for some time after the Maccabean Wars. Pharisaism, which succeeded Mosaism, as a dominant religion, was a distinct religion,[2] St. Paul in his Epistles in alluding to the Law combats Pharisaism and only Pharisaism. He proposed to bridge over the historical chasm made by the reign of Pharisaism, and passing from " faith unto faith ",[3] from the faith of Mosaism to the faith of the Gospel, to show with all a convert's zeal that the one was strengthened by the other. " Do we then destroy the Law by Faith? " he asks.[4] He answers firmly: " God forbid; but we establish the Law." [5]

[2] Acts 26:5.
[3] Rom. 1:17.
[4] Rom. 3:31.
[5] Ibid.

As exposition progresses more rapidly than demonstration, in this article, by pointing out the meaning of the word Law, and by comparing the aforesaid two religions, I shall endeavor to show what was St. Paul's thought regarding the Mosaic Law.

I. The two religions, Mosaism and Pharisaism, had much in common.

(1.) First of all, they had the same name. Both are called "the Law". This common title is the paramount source of confusion. In the Gospel, "the Law" always means Mosaism—with the exception of that pronouncement of the Pharisees, "this multitude, that knoweth not the Law, are accursed",[6] and such combinations as "doctor of the Law", "instructed in the Law", referring to Pharisees. In St. Paul's Epistles, on the other hand, "Law" now means Pharisaism, now, Mosaism. In the following verse we have both meanings: "but now without the Law [Pharisaism] the justice of God is made manifest by the Law and the prophets [Mosaism]".[7] The same is true of this sentence: "For I through the Law [Mosaism] am dead to the Law [Pharisaism]".[8]

(2.) In the second place, both Mosaism and Pharisaism traced their origin back to Mt. Sinai.

(3.) The ingredient of fear entered largely into both religions.

(4.) Both guaranteed "righteousness" and "life".

(5.) Finally, the adherents of both religions were the children of Abraham, and, in the same temple, with the ministry of the same hereditary priesthood, they adored the same God.

II. Here are five specious reasons tempting us to hold Mosaism and Pharisaism to be one, and all writers, more or less, have succumbed to the temptation. Döllinger,[9] who

[6] John 7:49.

[7] Rom. 3:21.

[8] Gal. 2:19.

[9] "Eine eigene Lehre hatten sie eigentlich nicht und konnten sie nicht haben, da sie eben keine besondere Schule und noch weniger eine Secte bildeten, sondern der herrschenden und ueber das ganze Land verbreitete Lehrstand waren, der 'auf dem Stuhle Mosis sas', so dass die Saducaeer selbst, wenn sie einmal zu oeffentlichen, mit der Religion verknuepften Aemptern gelangen, sich in Wort und That den Pharisaeern anbequemen musten. Nur der Gegensatz gegen die Saducaeer konnte die Vorstellung erzeugen dass auch die Pharisaeer eine besondere Schule oder 'Haersis' seien." (*Heidenthum und Judenthum,*

wrote one of the best monographs on Judaism, holds that the Pharisees did not form even a sect. Schanz [10] could write the history of "the people of Israel" without even mentioning their name. In general, the Pharisees are looked upon as a "religious faction", "a tendency", without any precise determination of what they were. Yet Mosaism and Pharisaism, despite the number of terms common to both, and the number of places where they met, were so essentially different that it is simply amazing that they were ever confused in the mind of anyone. We never think of Simeon and Zachary, apart from their sanctity, as if they were in the same religious class with their contemporaries Hillel and Schammai. Why, then, should we confound the two religions of these different couples? What are the facts, known indeed of all, but overlooked by all? "The Law"—the foundation of Mosaism—is the Thorah—the written books of Moses; "The Law"—the foundation of Pharisaism—is the Halacha, the alleged Traditions from Moses and others. It only materially includes the written Law of Moses; formally, it is a Law by itself.[11] The identity of place of worship, and of priesthood, is granted, but holier places and a more divine priesthood may be utilized by error. Furthermore, both religions were monotheistic. Mosaism, if we adopt St. Paul's language, was the religion rather of the Hebrews than of the Jews. But in other things, which are of the essence of religion, these two religions were as far asunder as the poles.

p. 771.) Later on he seems to get nearer to the truth: "So waren unter den Haenden der Pharisaeer die Gesetzesueberlieferungen zuletzt vieleicht zu einer dichten Schale geworden, welche den wahren innern Kern des urspruenglichen Gesetzes nicht mehr erkennen lies" (p 775). He does not seem to advert that there is another Gegensatz,—der Gegensatz gegen die Mosaische Religion.

[10] *A Christian Apology*, Vol. II, chap. V.

[11] In Tract Hagiga (Holocaust), page 18, we find the following: "It is written (Zach. 8:10): 'And for him that went out or came in there was no peace'. Said Rabh: That means, if a man goes out from the study of the Mishna to read the verses of the Bible, this man can have no more peace (because nothing can be decided from the verses without the commentary of the Mishna). Samuel, however, said: Even the man who separates himself from the Talmud to learn the Mishna (because nothing can be decided from the Mishna without the explanation of the Talmud). Rabbi Johanan said: Even he who separates himself from the Palestinian Talmud and goes to the Babylonian Talmud (because nothing can be decided from the Babylonian Talmud, etc.)."

If these teachers of Babylon and Palestine reflect the mind of the older Pharisees, we see that private judgment was their principle of interpretation of the Bible, and that the Bible was but a material element of Pharisaism.

III. It will be illuminating to take a rapid glance at the history of both.

(1.) Mosaism was a religion of faith. If Abraham had faith in God's promise, the followers of Moses had faith in God's covenant, which is only a solemn mutual promise. All the praise given to Abraham because he believed in the promise must be proportionately given to all those who believed in the covenant. St. Paul does not deny them this praise, although the persons, whom he mentions, were under the Law of Moses. "The time would fail me," he says, "to tell of Gedeon, Barac, Jepthe, David, Samuel, and the prophets, who by *faith* conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, attained promises . . . of whom the world was not worthy".[12] But note well. The sending of the Holy Spirit is the prerogative of the Son of God alone—the last of the Prophets, with whom the Apostles first, to witness to His word, and then in unbroken succession the Church, to preserve His word, form through the Holy Spirit one moral person to continue to the end of time. Moses, therefore, could give only a "commandment" to keep the written ordinances of the Thorah. Mosaism thus was committed to men and sent on its way like the Church, but without the Holy Spirit, the safeguard of the Church. The fire, which Moses kindled, often smouldered and at times threatened to die out altogether; but God raised up prophets from time to time, who fanned the smouldering embers once more into flame. Finally, prophecy ceased. Here and there were found a few inspired men—those from whom we have the sapiential books. But they had no influence on the public trend of events. The old faith was preserved through God's Providence only in the outposts of Judea by such priests as Zachary and Simeon, until He came who fanned its dying embers into the flame that consumed the holocaust of Calvary.

(2.) Meantime a new religion not based on faith slipped in. It had neither God nor prophet for its sponsor. It was a human institution and, although it started out well, being human, it was doomed to rapid decay. This is its history. After the Maccabean Wars some zealots of the Law of Moses, probably the descendants of the Chasidim, or pious, once "the

[12] Heb. 11:30-39.

stoutest congregation in Israel",[13] formed a brotherhood to carry out the alleged injunction of the Great Synagogue "to put a hedge about the Law". Because one of their vows was to shun the company of the ignorant and careless, these brothers were called separatists (Pherushim), whence comes their name Pharisees. Their other pledges were, to pay the tithes and other imposts, to maintain vows, to respect the property of others, but, especially, to keep the Law as interpreted by Tradition and by the keepers of Tradition, the Scribes. Modernity would carry its own condemnation with a people who were always thinking of their origin. Hence the Pharisees invoked, in the interest of their doctrine, the fabulous traditions of all the great men of the past, but particularly of Moses. These traditions (St. Paul calls them "Jewish fables and commandments of men"[14]) formed the Halacha or Traditional Law. The plural Halachoth means special decrees of this Law. To become a brother, or Pharisee, all that one had to do was to make the vows before three of the brotherhood. The organization of this brotherhood was entirely independent of the hereditary priesthood and often in conflict with it. In course of time, however, the Pharisees counted in their brotherhood many of the priests and Levites.[15]

Their first entrance into politics was their protest against the king, John Hyrcanus, because he held at the same time the high-priesthood and the crown. This protest nearly cost them their existence. They were all banished. Subsequently the irreconcilables formed the sect of the Essenes. The fortunate circumstance, however, that one of the Pharisees, Simeon, was the brother-in-law of the succeeding king, Alexander Jannaeus, enabled many Pharisees, after being reconciled to the kingly priesthood, to return from exile and to continue their zealous propaganda. So successful were they that, another rupture with authority having taken place, they were powerful enough to take the field and for seven years to hold it against Alexander, conqueror though he had been of many towns. At his death the queen, Salome Alexandra, made her brother Simeon all-powerful, and the Pharisees, who had been

[13] I Mac. 2:42.
[14] Titus 1:14.
[15] John 1:24.

made fanatics by persecution, were now made tyrants by success. Pharisaism remained, ever after, the dominant power of Judaism; it wound its coils around the old Mosaic Faith and crushed it to death. In the words of our Saviour it was "without judgment and mercy and faith". Would it not be passing strange if St. Paul had ignored the dominant religion, from which he was converted, and had waged war all his life against a religion which in the perspective that he controversially assumes, did not any longer exist? Pharisaism, as a religion, is the river a hundred years long which we place on the historical map. It was a religion which of its own initiative, seizing on the Old Testament and making a religion of its own, was exactly in the same position and arrived at the same goal as Protestantism, of its own initiative, seizing on both Testaments and making a religion of its own. We are confirmed in this opinion when we take note that the Council of Trent, in its decree of about twenty pages on "justification" against Protestants, quotes these letters of St. Paul seventy-six times. Queen Salome Alexandra was the predecessor of Frederick of Saxony, of Joachim of Brandenburg, of Christian of Denmark, and of all the rest of the "Obigkeit", so dear to Luther, which took Lutheranism under its protection.

IV. Now, St. Paul recalls very accurately the history of Pharisaism, when he says that "the law entered in".[16] This word, "entered in", in our version, is one of those "interned" words. I call them interned words because they have been deprived of their usefulness. But the original παρεισῆλθεν, like the Latin *subintravit,* is very descriptive of the historical event. It signifies that the Law "entered in by stealth". Good old Cornelius à Lapide, to whose collecting genius I owe many happy and profitable hours, but whose reasoning is frequently beyond me, sees the difficulty of applying this text to the Mosaic Law. "Disces: Lex publice tantâ pompâ in Sina rogata est et accepta; ergo non furtim intravit. Respondeo: Nego consequentiam, quia Deus Hebraeos ex Aegypto media nocte quasi latenter eduxit in desertum Sina, ibique nil tale expectantibus legem promulgavit." In other words, because the Israelites in the dark some seven weeks before sneaked out of

[16] Rom. 5:20.

Egypt, the law is justly said to have been sneaked in on Sinai, despite the thunder and lightning and blare of trumpets; and also because the Israelites did not expect anything of the kind, when, as a matter of record, Moses went three times to God and then three times to them to prepare them for it, and they ratified it in the full glare of the morning sun by the most solemn sacrifice, with the exception of the one on Calvary, that was ever offered on this earth. No; Aristotle himself could not fathom this *Nego consequentiam* if he were raised from the dead expressly for the purpose. A more modern way of accounting for the stealthy entrance of the law is to say that the Mosaic Law entered in stealthily because it was "the occasion of sin", sin being conceived to be a slippery, serpentine sneak. But it looks to me as if this accounting only adds bad ethics to bad exegesis. We must remember that St. Paul knows no fine distinctions. Instead of distinguishing after the manner of the School over a thousand years later, he generally says "God forbid", and makes a fresh start. An occasion of sin with him is a direct occasion, just as it is in common language. The Law for him was even more than an occasion: "The power of sin," he says, "is the Law".[17] Furthermore, the argument of the commentators demands that it should be a direct occasion. Now, an oppressive law, like that of the Pharisees, imposing insupportable burdens,[18] is a proximate occasion of sin through the fault of the lawgiver, but the Mosaic Law, teaching people how to know, love, and serve God—whose form of worship was the best for the time—was not an occasion of sin. Wicked men might make it an occasion of sin, just as through their own malice the holy Redeemer Himself, who certainly was not a direct occasion of sin, "was set for the fall of many in Israel".[19] Our Redeemer deserved no censure for the catastrophe which overtook the wicked, neither did the Law of Moses. We conclude, therefore, that, not these explanations, but the actual history of the gradual spread of the network of Pharisaism over all the institutions of Moses, explains St. Paul's expression "the Law

[17] I Cor. 15:56.

[18] Matt. 23:4.

[19] Luke 2:34.

entered in that sin might abound". The Law, therefore, in this case is Pharisaism. The history of Mosaism and Pharisaism shows that they were distinct religions, and St. Paul, who in his writing, or nowhere, becomes "a Jew to the Jews", that is, a Pharisee to the Pharisees, endeavors to make the distinction apparent.

V. In the second place, the ingredient of fear entered into both Mosaism and Pharisaism, but differently. Mosaism, like every good law, was accompanied by a sanction; Pharisaism was a law of fear.

(1.) The Law of Moses was received from God in a lowering cloud, amidst shafts of lightning, peals of thunder, and the blare of trumpets—all intended to impress fear on the unworthy. Hence we have all jumped to the conclusion that "the Old Law was a Law of fear". How often have I heard it! This Law, it is true, was to be taken seriously. It prescribed severe punishments against grievous transgressions. But it was not a law of fear. On the whole it was much like Christianity, which includes an element of even greater fear. "A man making void the law of Moses," says St. Paul, "dieth without any mercy under two or three witnesses—how much more do you think he deserveth worse punishments who hath trodden under foot the Son of God . . . and hath offered an affront to the spirit of grace?" [20] In this regard I could quote the terrible threats of our Saviour. But I quote only St. Paul, as he is supposed to regard the Gospel as without fear, which he does not, and Mosaism with nothing but fear—a conception which is utterly foreign to him and to all the inspired men before him. For, aside from transgressions, Mosaism, like Christianity, was a joyous religion. Its sacrifices were joyous reunions with hymns and feasting. Its praise of God was the praise of a God of mercy to His people as well as of a God of terror to His enemies. The psalmists never cease chanting the happiness of serving God in this worship. "Exaltate Deo adjutori nostro, jubilate Deo Jacob." [21] "The deliverance of those who through the fear of death were all their lifetime subject to servitude," [22] is not a deliverance from Mosaism.

[20] Heb. 10:28, 29.
[21] Ps. 80.
[22] Heb. 2:15.

(2.) But Pharisaism was strictly a law of fear. All its prescriptions were the special interest of the all-seeing just God. Consequently they had to be fulfilled to the letter. The most rigid logic was applied. It was forbidden to carry anything on the Sabbath. A tailor should not, therefore, go out with his needle at the approach of the great day. He might be belated and carry back the needle on the Sabbath.[23] No work could be done on the Sabbath. Therefore no one should read by candlelight on that day; in a moment of abstraction he might snuff the candle and that act would be work. The curse *Kareth,* a shortening of life, would fall on the wilful transgressor. This scrupulosity was "the spirit of fear", "the curse", "the bondage", of Pharisaism. When St. Paul speaks of "the testament of Mt. Sinai engendering unto bondage", it is therefore of Pharisaism that he is speaking. Who will be able to estimate the harm that has been done by misapplying his words and making God at any time a God of servile fear to the just?

VI. In the third place, there was in these two religions a conception of "righteousness" and of "life", but the righteousness and the life of the one were not at all the righteousness and the life of the other. In practice the Mosaic Law made great saints. St. Paul candidly acknowledges this: "For the end of the Law is Christ, unto justice to every one that believeth. For Moses wrote: *that the justice, which is of the law, the man that shall do it shall live by it*".[24] It is a justice or righteousness by means of faith. According to him "All (the saints of the Mosaic Law) were approved by the testimony of Faith".[25] Now the other saints of the Old Law did not try to establish their own righteousness any more than Abraham did. But this is exactly the accusation which St. Paul brings forward, and consequently, he is not contemplating the Mosaic Law. "For they, not knowing the justice of God and seeking to establish their own, have not submitted themselves to the justice of God."[26] He admits that there is a sort of righteousness in Pharisaism. He says of himself

[23] Vid. the tract Sabbath, passim.

[24] Rom. 10:4, 5.

[25] Heb. 11:39.

[26] Rom. 10:3.

while he was yet a Pharisee, and a persecutor of the Faith, that he was "according to the justice that is in the Law, conversing without blame".[27] Our Saviour also admits a certain righteousness in Pharisaism. In the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, He introduces the Pharisee as saying: "I fast twice in the week; I give tithes of all I possess".[28] But it was a righteousness based on human endeavor, having for aim the exact fulfilment of the externals of the Law. Hence there was a continuous impulse to increase more and more the specifications of all the external works, and all the energy of the soul being expended in such minutiae, there was none left for the greater things. What then was Pharisaic sanctity? St. Paul bears witness that "they had a zeal of God but not according to knowledge".[29] But neither he[30] nor our Saviour[31] hesitates to accuse these holy, these righteous ones of great sins. What are we to infer? What do their surviving *halachoth* likewise show? We infer and we find that they sinned by system. They were at heart corrupt. Exactness in externals was accompanied with great indifference to interior dispositions. They were ever making laws by abnormal extensions and evading their own laws by subtle casuistry. Long prayers, ostentatious fasts, ablutions, wearing broad phylacteries and properly made fringes, fulfilling all outward prescriptions with scrupulous exactness, were the works of Pharisees, "by which they lived" and "were justified", while by their frauds and adulteries they were dead to all godly spirituality. They had a Messianic hope, but it was of a king who would liberate them from the Romans, whereas the Messianic hope of Mosaism was of a great prophet who would reconcile the people more to God. They looked forward to a resurrection, but they conceived the resurrection and Heaven in a very material way,[32] whereas the psalmist, the interpreter of Mosaism, says: "In thy light, O Lord, we shall see light".[33] It was for this reason that St. Paul takes great pains to point out

[27] Phil. 3:6.

[28] Luke 18:12.

[29] Rom. 10:2.

[30] Rom. 2:17-24.

[31] Gospels, passim.

[32] The words "land of the living" in Ps. 114:9: "I will please the Lord in the land of the living" is interpreted by R. Jehudah the marketplace, where food is kept. *Yomah*, p. 104.

[33] Ps. 35:10.

the greatness of the reward of Faith: "If sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God and joint heirs with Christ".[34] This reward is transcendant: "I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come".[35] Such a reward could not be earned by human endeavor. Pharisaism had no vision of this kind, nor could it have. It relied on punctuality in fulfilling the letter of the Law and expected justification for its diligence, which, without other accompaniment than a perfunctory repentance, it supposed would wring from God His good will—and earned wage. Graciousness on the part of God to accept these works, not for what they were in themselves, but for the tribute which they gave to God's fidelity to His word, was neither asked nor expected. Like Protestants, they argued themselves into a state of election for the flimsiest reasons. To fall back into this frame of mind from the teaching of the Gospel, which at every step looks for God's graciousness on account of the tribute of Faith, which Christian works give to God through belief in the Redemption of our Lord Jesus Christ, was to fall back into infidelity: "You are made void in Christ, you who are justified in the Law: you are fallen from grace".[36] We conclude therefore that these differences of righteousness and life which enter into the essentials of Mosaism and Pharisaism make them two different religions, and again we conclude that St. Paul is combating only the second.

VII. We may now report progress.

(1.) By a simple exposition of St. Paul's use of the word Law and by applying the different meanings now to Mosaism and now to Pharisaism, according as we know the history and nature of each, we bring St. Paul's sayings into complete harmony with the Tradition of the Church. Meantime we are relieved from any further formal work of proving that Pharisaism was a religion. St. Paul does the work for us. All his great letters—Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, Hebrews—in whole or in part, are leveled against Pharisaism, as a false religion. All his arguments are our arguments. Pharisaism was more than a sect or a schism, which supposes one com-

[34] Rom. 8: 17. [35] Ibid., 18.
[36] Gal. 5: 4.

mon faith as a foundation; it had, as St. Paul sees it, a different foundation altogether from Mosaism. Those who lived in it were in unbelief, while those who lived in Mosaism were in faith. Not because he was attacking Mosaism, but because only dominant Pharisaism and world-wide paganism entered his immediate perspective he says, that "God concluded all in unbelief".[37]

(2.) In the second place, we save St. Paul from contradicting himself and Tradition on three points. According to him the Law of Moses is a blessing: "The end of the Law is Christ".[38] He quotes the fourth commandment with approval and adds, "which is the first commandment with a promise".[39] His approval extends, therefore, to all the others. In fact, he says explicitly: "We know that the Law is good if a man use it lawfully;"[40] and after enumerating various classes of sinners, for whom punishment is determined in the Mosaic Law, he adds: "Which is according to the Gospel of the blessed God, which hath been committed to my trust." He would therefore contradict himself if he called this Law a curse, or waged war against it.

If we make the words: "You have not received the spirit of bondage again in fear",[41] and "God hath not given us the spirit of fear",[42] refer, not to the essence of the Law, but to punishments, we make the Apostle contradict himself, since he often signifies that greater punishments are due to the transgressors of the Law of the Gospel. If they refer to the essence of the Law, then the Law referred to was not the Law of Moses, whose essence according to him was faith and whose "end was love".[43]

(3.) When he speaks of "the foundation of penance from dead works",[44] if he refers to the Mosaic Law, he would contradict himself, since he wrote this: "Moses wrote that the justice which is of the Law, the man that shall do it shall live by it." The works of the Mosaic Law were not dead, but vivified by Faith. Therefore again he is talking of the Pharisaic Law and is saved from self-contradiction. Of his own

[37] Rom. 11:32.
[38] Rom. 10:4.
[39] Ephes. 6:2.
[40] I Tim. 8:9.
[41] Rom. 8:15.
[42] II Tim. 1:7.
[43] I Tim. 1:5.
[44] Heb. 6:1.

observance of the Mosaic Law, on account of which he was accused of inconsistency, we shall speak later.

VIII. Still, we are only at the beginning of our journey. To all that we have said the answer may be made: The theory that St. Paul in his greater Epistles was attacking only Pharisaism and not the Mosaic Law is set aside indisputably by this one argument: "St. Paul, in combating the Law, combats the Law that he quotes. Now in the course of his arguments against the Law, it is the Mosaic Law he holds up for our reprobation. In Galatians 3: 10, he quotes verse 26, chapter 27 of Deuteronomy: 'Cursed is every one that abideth not in all things written in the book of the Law to do them'; in Romans 7: 7, he quotes verse 21, chapter 5 of Deuteronomy: 'I had not known concupiscence', he says 'if the law did not say: Thou shalt not covet'; in Galatians 2: 12, he quotes Leviticus 18: 5: 'he that doth those things, shall live in them'. Therefore, as St. Paul is quoting the Law of Moses for attack, he is arguing against the Law of Moses."

Now in opposition to the foregoing, in the next article I shall maintain that St. Paul in these three instances does not quote the Law of Moses, that from one end of the Law of Moses to the other there are no such texts, that the references at the foot of the page in our Bibles are misleading, that these are three Halachoth of the Pharisaic Law. In fact, they are the very "Halachoth of St. Paul" about which I undertook to write. I arranged these Halachoth above in the order in which I discovered them. That discovery filled me with profound emotion. The bearing, which they have on an understanding of the whole Pauline problem, at once flashed upon my mind. Like Keats,

> Then felt I like some watcher of the skies,
> When a new planet swims into his ken;
> Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes
> He star'd at the Pacific—and all his men
> Look'd at each other in a wild surmise—
> Silent, upon a peak in Darien.

JAMES C. BYRNE.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

THOSE WHO ARE ALIVE AT THE LAST DAY.

A Study in Eschatology.

ST. PAUL seems to say that those who are alive at the last day shall not die.[1] The Greek Fathers, for the most part, so understand the Apostle. They are followed by Anglican scholars, and recent Catholic writers not a few. On the other hand, Latin authorities, including especially St. Augustine and St. Thomas of Aquin, hold it to be the more probable and indeed the sound view, that the just who are living when Christ comes again will die, either before they are "caught up in the clouds", or in the very act of being caught up. This is the view adopted by the great bulk of Catholic commentators, and Suarez regards it as true, though he does not venture to censure the opposite.[2]

It is a principle of right interpretation that Scripture does not contradict Scripture. Even a human author is not to be supposed to deny in one place what he affirms in another. Now the inspired writers, including St. Paul himself, do affirm categorically that all men shall die. "Who is the man," asks the Royal Psalmist, "that shall live and not see death?"[3] "As by one man," writes the Apostle, "sin entered into this world, and by sin death, so death passed upon all men, in whom all men have sinned."[4] And again: "As in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made alive."[5] And once more: "And as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after this the judgment, etc."[6] Here it is clearly implied that those who are alive at the last day shall die before they are judged; as it also is in I Cor. 5:37, that all must die, for that all are to rise again. "Senseless man, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die first."

It may, of course, be maintained that universal statements, such as those just cited, admit of exception. But, at any rate, the exception has to be established. And this all the more since there is question of exemption from organic dissolution,

[1] I Cor. 16:50-57, in the received Greek text; I Thess. 4:14-17; II Cor. 5:1-4.

[2] Tom. 19, quaest. 56, disp. 1, sect. 2.

[3] Ps. 88:49.

[4] Rom. 5:12.

[5] I Cor. 15:22.

[6] Heb. 9:27.

which, in the order of nature, is " the stern law of every mortal lot ". The persuasion of the human race on this score is voiced by the lyric bard of ancient Rome in these memorable lines:

Sed omnes una manet nox
Et calcanda semel via leti.

If then, the texts of St. Paul cited above can be shown to be patient of an interpretation that does not conflict with the universal law, we are bound to accept that interpretation.

The passage referred to in the last place [7] is too obscure to found an argument upon. The Apostle seems to speak there of our natural unwillingness to die, rather than to intimate that some may escape death. It is as if he said: We had rather not be stripped of our mortal bodies but clothed over with the robe of immortality. In First Thessalonians he speaks plainly. " We who are alive," he says (associating, by what may be called a figure of prophecy, himself with those who are to live to see the last day), " we who are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so we shall be always with the Lord." But he just stops short of saying that those who are alive on that day shall not taste death. It may be said that he implies it. But he does not imply it necessarily; for death may precede, or take place during, the passage from earth through the air. It cannot therefore be said that this text absolutely establishes an exception to the universal law of death.

The passage in First Corinthians appears, at the first blush, to do so, if we adopt the reading of the received Greek text. And it must be owned that this reading is much better accredited, though many ancient MSS., including the Sinaitic, have a different one. The context, too, makes it all but certain that it is the true reading. For St. Paul is speaking throughout of the resurrection of the just, with whom he associates himself, and so " we shall not all be changed," of the Vulgate rendering and the Lachmann Text, would not give an admissible meaning. It seems plain the " we " of verses 51 and 52 stands for the just who shall be found alive at the second coming of Christ, and who are sharply contrasted in verse 52 with the

[7] II Cor. 5:1-4.

just who have died in Christ. These, it is declared, shall rise incorruptible, "and we shall be changed".

How, then, can it be held that all shall die? Theophylact gives us *le mot d'enigme,* the key to the "mystery" spoken of by the Apostle. "This change," he says, "for them involves death. For that which is corrupt in them dies, being transmuted into incorruption." [8] Assuming this to be so, the Apostle affirms by necessary implication that even those who are alive at the last day shall pass through the portals of death. That it is so, and must be so, will, I think, be plain to any one who pauses to consider the nature of the stupendous change from corruption to incorruption, from a mortal life to immortality.

Treating of this question, St. Thomas points out that that which is corrupt cannot be made whole again unless it be resolved into its elements and built up anew.[9] Now the life of the body since the fall is essentially a corruptible life. Hence, until the body is resolved into its elements, man cannot put on incorruption.

In the light of biological science we can to-day drive home and clinch this argument. The human body, like every other living organism, is now known to be just a great mass of cells. It is by means of these cells that all the processes of vegetable life, nutrition, growth, and reproduction, are carried on. The human soul communicates its own life to the body in and through and by means of these cells. If the cells die in a given part of the body, say the hand or finger, the soul ceases to give life to that part and it dies. Should the cells die in the whole

[8] P. G. tom. cxxiv, col. 779. We find this same idea in Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.,* v. 12). Commenting on the words of the Apostle, "and the dead shall rise incorruptible, and we shall be changed", he writes: "The former, indeed, shall rise incorruptible, and shall receive again their bodies whole and sound, that thereby they may be incorruptible; the latter, both because of its being the last moment of time, and by virtue of what they have suffered during the persecution of Antichrist, shall be given a summary death (compendium mortis). But they shall be transformed in consequence, and, rather than being stripped of the (earthly) body, shall be clothed over with the body which is from heaven." The idea recurs in his *De Resurr. Carnis,* c. 41, in a phrase so terse that it almost defies translation: "propter duritias temporum antichristi merebuntur, *compendio mortis per demutationem expunctae,* concurrere cum resurgentibus—because of the terrible trials of the time of Antichrist, they will deserve, through a summary death, slain itself in the act of slaying, (lit. by transformation destroyed), to join those who rise again."

[9] Suppl. 3ae partis, q. 78, a. 1.

body, or even in parts that are vital, such as the heart or brain, life in the whole body becomes extinct, and there occurs a phenomenon familiar to mankind since the cradle of the race —the death of a human being. Now it is certain that cell-life will cease in the human body after the resurrection, for in the glorified body the processes of vegetable life, growth, nutrition, reproduction, will be no more. The children of the resurrection, we are told, shall neither hunger nor thrist, they shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but shall be like the angels of God. Therefore, organic death, that is, the death of the body, is an essential prerequisite condition to the glorification of the body. This mortal can never put on immortality till it has passed through the gates of death.

It may be urged that, according to the Greek text, the Apostle says expressly, in verse 51, "We shall not all die." The verb is κοιμάω which means literally to "put to sleep". In the future passive (of the text), the meaning given to it in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon is to "fall asleep, go to bed, lie abed", and Homer uses it of animals in the sense of "lying down". A secondary sense is "to die". This secondary sense is figurative, that is to say, a sense suggested by the imagination. What, then, is the image that the literal sense suggests? It is of one lying down as if asleep, for the normal posture of the one who sleeps is lying down. From this we gather that the word in its secondary sense properly signifies *to sleep the sleep of death in the grave.* And this is what the Apostle says the just shall *not* all do: they shall not all sleep in the grave. All but those who are alive at the second advent will have done so, including Christ and His Blessed Mother. But those who survive at the end of the world will be "changed" or transfigured "in the twinkling of an eye". Their bodies will not lie in the earth, but will pass from mortal life to death and from death to immortal life instantaneously. And so shall death be "swallowed up in victory" (v. 54), and "that which is mortal shall be swallowed up by life".[10]

Even if you take the ordinary meaning as given in both the Authorized Anglican Version and the Revised, "We shall not all sleep", the idea it conveys is not that of the *act* of death,

[10] II Cor. 5:4.

which may be instantaneous, but of the *state* of death, which involves an interval of time. The phenomenon of sleep does not take place in one instant; it requires at least a few moments. But the death of the just at the end of the world will be instantaneous—"in an atom", to translate literally the word used by St. Paul, that is, a point of time absolutely indivisible.

How shall the "change" from mortality to immortality be wrought? That, I take it, is the core of the "mystery". Of course death even from a natural cause, such as a stroke of lightning, might be instantaneous in the time-sense of the word. But physical death only prepares the way for the change to the glorified state, and the Scripture seems to imply that the whole transformation from mortal life through death to immortality takes place *in an indivisible point of time,* i. e. instantaneously, in the absolute sense of the word. Now, no natural agent, not even the swift lightning, works instantaneously in this absolute sense. Therefore I venture to make the suggestion that the same Supernatural Agent, to wit, the Incarnate Word of God, who, in the twinkling of an eye, shall raise the dead to life at the last day, shall, in that same instant, cause the just who are found living a mortal life to pass through death into immortality, or, as the Apostle has it, cause "this mortal" to "put on immortality". And so indeed shall "that which is mortal be swallowed up by life". This also accords with the scholastic principle, *Corruptio unius est generatio alterius.* For according to the schoolmen, the same agent that introduces the form disposes the matter, and the ultimate disposition of the matter is from the form itself. Thus light by its very entrance into a room drives out darkness, heat drives out cold, fire by its action on damp wood drives out the dampness and kindles fire. So may it be in the case we are contemplating: incorruption shall drive out corruption; immortality, that which is mortal; life, death. And so "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (v. 26).

We read in the *Speaker's Commentary*:[11] "The view that [the Apostle] takes for granted the dissolution of his natural body in any case, because this is implied in change as well as

[11] II Cor. 5:1.

in death, identifies dissolution or pulling down (καταλυθῇ) with absorption or swallowing up (καταποθῇ), which are different processes." The dissolution of the natural body *is* death. In the order of nature, when the human body is resolved into its elements, and life in the cells that go to make it up becomes extinct, the soul must needs pass away. I say "in the order of nature", and unless a supernatural power intervenes. The true statement is that, as "change" or transformation involves the dissolution and extinction of the natural forces of the body, it *ipso facto* involves death. Nor does this view identify dissolution or pulling down with absorption or swallowing up. The processes in themselves are different, but the agency that carries them on is the same; just as the same fire dissolves the crude mass of ore mingled with baser matter, absorbs the moisture contained in it, and sets the gold free.

One may gather from what has been set down above that the cell-life of the organism is the physical basis and bond of the union of soul and body in man. That union is now unstable because the basis of it is labile—a mass of cells continually changing from death to life, from life to death. The union is imperfect because the bond is weak—a mass of cells each having within itself a principle of life that is perishable. The union is temporary because the basis and bond of it, the whole mass of cells, is doomed to decay and death. But when the soul, now renewed with the life of glory, shall be united with a body from which all the elements of corruption and mortality have been purged away, then shall the union be stable, and perfect, and everlasting.

And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth are passed away, and the sea is now no more. And I saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men, and he shall dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And he shall wipe away every tear from their eyes, and death shall be no more, neither shall there be sorrow, nor crying, nor suffering any more, for the first things are passed away. And he that sitteth on the throne said, Behold I make all things new.—Apoc. 21: 1-5.

✠ ALEXANDER MACDONALD,
Bishop of Victoria.

CELL-LIFE IN SOULLESS TISSUE.

HOW is the soul, an immaterial, a spiritual being, conjoined with a material organism? As a "substantial form" combines with matter in animal, plant, molecule, atom. So answers Scholastic philosophy. The answer and the analogy are relatively easy and commend themselves to sound reason. When, however, the problem is pushed into the intimate life of the cells that constitute the organism, it becomes beset with difficulties, difficulties that increase all the more in the presence of the fact that some at least of the cells are seen to live after the soul has left the body. The priest who would be in a position to give an intelligent answer to the objections which recent biologists urge against his philosophical tenets—tenets that are intimately connected with the doctrines of his faith—cannot afford to let these problems remain unstudied. It is the aim of the present paper to offer some suggestions looking to their solution.

When Schwann discovered the cell he thought he had given the death-blow to Animism. But his followers soon found that the vitalistic theory was needed as much as before to supplement chemistry and physics in explaining the phenomena of creation. The field of research for experimental study in ontogenesis was narrowed by the discovery, but hardly simplified. On the contrary, the perplexity of biologists seems to vary inversely as the limits of the region in which they labor.

"The single cell," says Bunge, "a formless, structureless, microscopically small drop of protoplasm, shows all the essential functions of life: nourishment, growth, reproduction, motion, sensation; yes, even functions which at least compensate for the 'Sensorium', the conscious life of the higher animals." This was complexity enough, even for expert embryologists; but now the bewilderment arises in another domain and metaphysicians are puzzled because of this cell's activity. For physiologists claim that it is not restricted to living organisms, but carries the war into Africa and operates vitally in dead bodies, or in soulless tissue.

There appears to be abundant evidence that human tissues can continue to live separated from the soul. On the other hand, scholastic philosophy teaches that the body has it from the soul that it *lives,* that it is a body—and so on. "Una

enim et eadem forma est per essentiam, per quam homo est ens actu, et per quam est corpus, et per quam est vivum, et per quam est animal, et per quam est homo." [1]

These statements seem contradictory; but one is the expression of Catholic philosophy, and the other is the recognition of facts; so they ought to be reconcilable. The question now arises: whence this life in isolated tissue?

One solution is [2] that "the formal constituent principle of the human organism is multiple". It is thence argued that this would explain how life appears in a detached portion of the body. No doubt, such a supposition would account for the apparent anomaly, if it were tenable; but it is not. This theory quite upsets one's notions of Thomistic philosophy. Though coming from a writer who is notoriously painstaking in the use of words, it involves a curious paralogism. It asserts the substantial multiplicity of human nature. According to this hypothesis, there would be as many complete formal entities in the human compound as there are cells.

A "formal constituent principle" is the *principium formale* of the schoolmen; which is the *forma substantialis*. Now wherever you have a substantial form you have a *suppositum*—that is, "Substantia singularis completa, incommunicabiliter subsistens". Or, briefly with Boëthius, "naturæ alicujus individua substantia". And here is St. Thomas's own opinion on this point: "Impossibile est quod aliqua alia forma substantialis praeter eam (anim. hum.) invenitur in homine,—unde dicendum est nulla alia forma est in homine nisi sola anima intellectiva." [3] It is evident then, from these commonplaces, that we must abandon "the formal constituent principle of cells in the human organism" as a means of explaining life in severed tissue.

Another solution offered is that the "cell activity" is a proximate disposition exacting the production of life when the soul leaves the body; and that this life "educitur de potentia materiae". But this explanation is unsatisfactory. In the first place it does not appear where this "cell-activity" comes from. For the writer had just deposed that "the rational soul

[1] *Sum. Theol.*, Pars. I, Q. 76, a. 6.

[2] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, October, 1914, p. 463.

[3] As above, A. 4, et passim.

virtually contains the lower vital forms, and *exercises their activity* in the cells". With regard to the principle invoked it is pertinent to observe that the Scholastic axiom, "formae educuntur de potentia materiae", is liable to mislead, because of loose interpretation, when pressed into service as a universal solvent in metaphysical difficulties.

The attribute this aphorism assigns to matter is of a negative kind only. The English equivalent of "potentia" in the context is really "impotency", "impuissance", or "possibility". The expression is meaningless or false, when smartly done into English, "forms are educed from the potency of matter". Again, "forms are the outcome of matter's potentiality" conveys a correct notion to those only who know it doesn't mean that. The same may be said of, "forms are extracted from the resources of matter". An example will make this clear. "Au pied de la lettre," is good French and may be well turned, "to the foot of the letter", but it means "literally". "The king can do no wrong," is still more to the point; or "sacramentum *validum* (in suo esse completum sed *informe*)". A still more apposite instance occurs in the December number of the REVIEW, page 722, where the formula is twisted into the antinomy, "*Creative* eduction from the potency of matter". Now the notion attaching to the epithet *creative* cannot be ascribed to *eduction* except as a half-truth (which is more misleading than a whole error), and when glossed with a comment explaining it away, which is carrying coals to Newcastle. The writer goes on to say that only the Creator Himself can "educe" life from "the potency of matter". On which it may be remarked that not even the Creator Himself can do this, because in the first place matter is not in such "potency", and in the next place, if it were, this interference on the part of the Creator would be to frustrate the natural operation of agents which in His wisdom He has appointed for the work. "To educe life from the potency of matter" simply means (if it can mean anything), "fieri aliquid actu vivens, quod prius fuerat vivens *potentia* tantum"; and this is hardly a creative act. True, the Creator could by a miracle turn a stone into an archangel, or a man, or a tree; but He could not "educe" any of these from the "potency" of a stone. We must, as St. Paul somewhere advises, stick to

"the form of sound words"; and, in the case of translations, to the sound sense.

Construing apothegms, even for literary purposes, is not always successful; but in Scholastic Philosophy it is likely to be either futile or fatal. Many "awful examples" will occur to the reader. The real sense of this formula must be got at by rendering it (circuitously) in accordance with the system to which it belongs. Then we have something like this: Forms presuppose in matter an appetency for, and a capacity to retain them, and are produced in, or induced into matter *by an efficient agency* whenever these dispositions are at hand. A poor meaning perhaps, but a right one. By referring now to the writer who has appealed to this dictum in explanation of postmortem cell-life we shall see that the observation was not altogether beside the mark. He says, "If there is life in these cells there must be some *substantial principle* of life"—"The second theory declared that in the organism all life comes from the soul; but that independent cell-life could exist in the cell upon its extirpation from the organ; and that this independent life, like all vegetative life, was *produced from matter* under the influence of previous life."

This theory, like the former of which it is an adaptation, is mere logomachy. It impinges on immovable principles and is in itself unthinkable. In the supposition, previous life is extinct. It is therefore absolutely ineffectual with regard to the "matter" in question. And, assuming that we are to be guided by Scholastic Philosophy (there is no other kind of philosophy), the assertion that life under any circumstances was ever *produced from matter* is quite unintelligible. This notion, or anything remotely resembling it, cannot be found in the writings of reputable Scholastics. Much less can it be successfully maintained that such an ineptitude, if not actually taught by St. Thomas, is at least implied in his principles. Moreover, a substantial principle of life is a substantial form, and this is a "Principium formale actuans corpus et in ratione naturae et in ratione substantiae". How then shall we classify these new entities? Are they human beings of a lower order? Are they animals or plants; organic or inorganic? They certainly are in some predicament. So it has confessedly come round to the thing as above.

This theory, excogitated " to safeguard the substantial unity of man while explaining cell-life in excised tissue ", not only fails of its purpose, but, by disregarding scholastic teaching about substantial forms, actually jeopardizes the doctrine it was invented to foster.

But how are we to explain the phenomena of cell-life, which investigators allege they have tabulated, and at the same time preserve intact the principles of ontology? This question under another form and in a different phraseology, is as old as Aristotle. And the solution, it would seem, must be sought in the explanation of the ontological state of elements in a compound.

The human organism is a complex compound—a congeries of chemical compounds, comprising many substances, of themselves in unstable equilibrium, but held in check by the vital principle that unifies and controls them, and, directing all their energies, makes them subserve the purposes of the living being. It is also a metaphysical compound consisting of matter and form, or body and soul. This latter combination constitutes the essence of human nature. That is, man metaphysically considered is essentially made up of two principles of being, which constitute him a rational living entity of the animal kingdom.

On the other hand, a human organism when studied from a chemico-physical viewpoint presents a compound of many substances. These substances, if left to themselves, would either settle down into an existence of their own, or unite with other substances and become something else. But they are compelled to submit themselves to the body in which they live, and where they are engaged in exercising the acts peculiar to their own nature for the substantial being of the organism. Though they do not possess that formal factor which would give them an independent existence as individuals, still they retain the virtues, characteristic qualities, powers, affinities, etc., etc., native to them. They are also endowed, by the vitalized semen whence they originally came, with energies or forces that partake in a modified way of the nature of *vital principles*. For it is abundantly evident that in living organisms there are certain special dispositions of matter, peculiar chemical and physical processes, construction of cells, various

vital forces that are utilized in executing the live actions of the organism. Now it is conceded by metaphysicians that these energies are *vital principles* in a secondary sense, but that to the substantial form alone belongs the attributes of life, as constituting the being *in actu primo,* and fixing its specific nature.

The vital operations provided by these vital forces under the domination of the substantial form, is called accidental life, in contradistinction to the primary life of the substance itself. These vital operations are the result of chemical processes and the vital forces of the organism. But the primary life is not, and cannot be, an effect of the organism; for it is, in its capacity of substantial form, the formal cause of the organism, and of the vital phenomena of the organism as such. It is precisely these vital forces that bear upon the point in discussion.

There can be no doubt about the fact of cell-formation apart from the substantial form, and there seems to be only one answer to the question as to where they come from. *This life, such as it is, was present from the first stage of the body's existence, and it remained under certain circumstances after the departure of the substantial form.* For we must not make a fetish of the "forma substantialis", nor use it as a talisman to explain, or assign to hopeless obscurity, all things in creation. It has its functions, and they are paramount in the constitution of the individual. But other things are required as well. "Materia prima," for example, is a real substantive entity with qualities which it brings to the "forma substantialis" when they unite to produce a subsistent being. And when the form departs, the *materia* passes with all its belongings—entitative qualities, observe—and becomes informed by another principle. If then, primary matter, which has so little of reality in its nature, does not renounce its characteristics under the domination of the substantial form, there seems to be something quite gratuitous and unphilosophic in saying that other substantial elements of the human compound do. (In fact it is a debatable question whether the substantial form unites with "materia absolute prima" or with "materia relative prima".) It is agreed on all hands then, that cell-growth, that is, subsidiary vital activity, goes on simultaneously with the substantive life of everyone. Why then should it imme-

diately cease on the dissolution of the individual? It was there before the advent of the substantial form; or at least in company with it, if one does arbitrarily insist on introducing the soul at the moment of conception. In either case it was not of the essence of the form. This with the matter constituted the substance of the entity in which this vitalistic energy found itself, and at whose dissolution the man ceased to be. It was a disposition *sine qua non,* if you will, but not essential of the form.

Possession is nine points of the law; or to put it academically, "asserentis est probare". The tissue remains as an actual reality; by what peremptory law of Ontology does it become impossible for the cell-formation activity to continue its usual routine; rather, what is to prevent it from laboring while its tenuous life lasts, or until a substitute for its overruling master is found? It cannot be annihilated any more than the tissue. This is dead matter, but remains; here is a something of vital nature—not capable, it is true, of compassing by itself a complete entity in the higher order of life, for the very good reason that it has been produced to serve another purpose—still well within the category of living things, and it is declared to have no reason for existence because one cannot explain how it survives. At all events physiologists say it does survive; and skeptics on the point, in support of their attitude, it is presumed, protest that it does not, never did and cannot, exist apart from the substantial form, which it was not without from the first.

Now it is always very hard to prove a negative; and when the proof is forthcoming it is apt to be rather unsatisfactory. In this case it is doubly so. For the pith of the argument adduced against the Thomists about the succession of forms issues in a negative proposition. Here, in substance, is the only possible philosophic reason that can be furnished on the point. It has not yet been demonstrated that it is impossible for the substantial form to be present in the embryo; so that at death only chemical forms remain. The latter part of this argument is refuted by fact. The phenomena of vitalistic manifestations in a dead body cannot be explained along purely chemico-physical lines. Neither can they be at all accounted for by the facile solution so well veiled in the words, "educuntur de potentia materiae". We have seen the real meaning of this ex-

pression. It is an esoteric formula for describing the manner in which accidental changes take place; the transmutation of substantial forms in dead matter, and the production of the vegetative or animal soul through the agency of the semen. To the phenomenon in question it can have no application whatsoever. For this principle implies an agent to do the "educing", and in the case of cell-growth in isolated tissue there is admittedly none. Not the soul, for it is gone; and the natural agents available in this instance are dead matter. Unless indeed it can be surmised that the substantial form by the very act of departing leaves behind it a "divinae particulam aurae", in the supposition, as above maintained, that it was not already there, but had to be recognized as appearing at death. We may do so, of course; and in this case we can fancy the tissue, bereft of an intrinsic constitution proper to a perfect vital principle, musing with itself in such circumstances like Virgil's grafted fruit tree, of which it was said "miranturque novas frondes et non sua poma". But such notions hardly obtain in metaphysics.

In this connexion the following from an expert biologist of recognized authority is interesting. "When it [a piece of human artery] was grafted on the dog [it was dead, but] the dog's vital principle reinformed it and revitalized it, because it was in potency to receive such life."[4] Now, it is obvious to ask for some explanation as to how these elements—oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, carbon, of a single cell, for example, or all the substantive elements of the chemically compounded "piece of human artery" managed, first to stay together or be kept from falling asunder, and second to be "in potency to receive such life" after the departure of the substantial form, "the formal constituent principle" of their very being. By inevitable inference they have ceased to be what they were, so that, whereas formerly they were living oxygen, carbon, etc., in the service of the substantial form for the constitution of a single cell, etc.—and were thus restrained from dissolution—the protoplasm is now extinct, and they, its component factors, have become merely dead oxygen, carbon, etc., just as other purely chemical compounds go apart at the destruction of the substantial form, and the constituent elements are severally wrought by nature's laws into other stable existences. But in

[4] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, October, 1914, p. 466.

the present case this is inconvenient for physiologists. They have ascertained the very opposite, namely, that these elements are still exercising reciprocal relations under some combining influence which sustains and controls their potential energies, while they in turn are prevented by an extrinsic cause—say environing agents—from overcoming the activity and efficiency of the unifying principle. Moreover, decay (says the mortuary expert) is the only absolute sign of death. Again, is it possible to have a stable and enduring organism without some sort of life?

But to return. This piece of human artery, though presumably dead, was "in potency to receive such life"—i. e., sensitive life which it had been living before the substantial form came, or with this. This "potency" is of course the "potentia passiva", or "subjectiva", of the Schools; that is, an aptitudinal disposition for, a natural tendency to, an intrinsic longing after, a certain form—in this instance, life. But the tissue is dead and of course all its qualities and quiddities have kinship only with the dead. This potency, or disposition, is therefore not vitalistic. The artery was not apt then to receive a vital form. But it was grafted on a living animal, and did in fact receive, and coöperate with a vital form. From every viewpoint, therefore, there seems to be no escaping the conclusion that the artery was alive.

Now can this be explained on the hypothesis of "production from matter under the influence of previous life"? It does not appear that it can. "Produced from matter" has been already referred to. It is not quite clear what is meant by the other part of this assertion. In the assumption we are treating of a *dead body*; and, as argued above, it has no capacity for life; is not even in that vague and serviceable state of "potency" for any life form whatsoever. However, "under the influence of previous life" may, presumably, be intended to mean that the relation existing between the previous life (that is, the substantial form) and the condition to be assumed by the body at death, requires that the succeeding form shall be of a vitalistic character; and that this form follows, as a matter of course. Perhaps an apology is due the writer referred to because of this interpretation. At all events, this would bring us back to the starting-point. Where does the life come from? What vital principle produces it? Evi-

dently it was either there from the beginning or it is not there now.

The first part of the above-adduced negative, viz., that it cannot be proved that it is impossible for the substantial form to enter the embryo, is not of such argumentative force as to preclude the theory of intermediary forms. Conformably then to the principles of Scholasticism, cell-growth goes on before the advent of the substantial form; it takes place under the domination of this; and after the form's departure, or when isolated, it continues. Nor does this theory, whether correct or not, conflict in any way with the recognized notion of substantial unity, or derogate from the traditional teaching about substantial forms.

It is quite true, in the matter and form theory, that there can be only one *forma substantialis,* which is the soul, or vital principle, of the living organism. This coalesces with the material principle, and they unite in constituting the individual. But that a substantial form be such it is not enough that it impart any kind of being, that it determine the matter in some sort, or inform the entity unto a certain stage of *esse.* It must produce a complete entity, and do this in a manner to leave it in such an independent subsistent state that it cannot be compounded with another without the destruction of its proper being. The substantive dispositions, the determining forces, the entitative qualities of the flesh and of the bone, of the oxygen, and of the other elements of the human organism, are the causes why these are flesh and bone and oxygen, etc., in themselves. But these determinants do not in any way contribute to the formal fashioning of man as such. The substantial form does this, and does it conclusively by fixing the specific nature, and making of the entity a recognizable specimen of its kind in the constitution of actual reality; existing objectively, integral, with an individuality and an identity of its own. It gives the finishing stroke, the " ultima completio entis in rerum natura ". It does not, however, exclude, in fact it postulates the concomitant action of energies other than its own. It coöperates with primary matter in effecting the substance *in actu primo*; and it then uses the native activities of the subject thus produced in maintaining the life of the individual *in actu secundo.*

Now the cells of a living organism are but a part of the individual. And though they follow their functions in the

sphere of their own imperfect natures, they are not capable of becoming anything, or of being anything but cells with sensitive life adapted to a living organism. If they are detached, or the substantial form recedes, they can go on growing, for they are endowed with vital forces, or secondary principles of life, but their ultimate scope is curtailed, as the primary object of their reproduction no longer exists. In this event their tenure of life becomes quite precarious; and in the struggle for ascendancy that ensues with their own elements, when the dominating power is gone, they soon succumb, unless a substitute is forthcoming to hold in check the aspirants for independence. If given this substituent for the withholding quality of their vital principle, they will continue to grow as they had been doing, and will, if opportunity offers, subserve the same purpose, namely, that of contributing to the sensitive life of an organism. This fitness affords some notion of the final causality of their nature. For, though their proper activity is purposeful, still their telic qualities are restricted to the function of compassing an appointed end as members of a compound.

It is held then—and an attempt to explain has been made—that cell-growth in isolated tissue, or vital phenomena in soulless organisms, cannot be explained, in accordance with Thomistic philosophy, by assigning to each cell a "formal constituent principle"; as this would, in Scholastic parlance at least, ascribe to the several cells an attribute that can be predicated of the whole subsisting organism only; again, that it can hardly be accounted for on the supposition that the life is "produced from matter under the influence of previous life"; because such an effect implies, first, that life can be "educed" from dead matter; and secondly, that a life-giving agent should actually operate in the instance to verify the theory; both of which seem untenable; also that the easy and untrammeled theory about the dead tissues being revived by a supervening vital principle, as the tissues, though *dead* had all the essential prerequisites of life, was not verisimilar, if indeed philosophic; and finally that it would seem that this growth may be attributed to the reproductive activity of the organic vital forces which the tissue had from the first, and which remained after the departure of the substantial form.

J. T. MURPHY.

St. Dunstan's College, Charlottetown, P. E. I., Canada.

Analecta.

SUPREMA S. CONGREGATIO S. OFFICII.

(Sectio de Indulgentiis.)

I.

DECRETUM: SOLVUNTUR QUAEDAM DUBIA CIRCA FACULTATES ET PRIVILEGIA SECRETARIORUM PIORUM OPERUM PROPAGATIONIS FIDEI, S. FRANCISCI SALESII ET S. INFANTIAE.

Ssmus D. N. D. Benedictus div. prov. Pp. XV, in audientia impertita R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii, feria V, die 10 iunii 1915, praehabito Emorum ac Revmorum PP. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum suffragio, feria IV, die 9 iunii 1915 emisso, super dubiis:

I. "An sacerdotes, qui in Curiis dioecesanis secretarii munere funguntur, per anni decursum oblationes recipientes, quas parochi dioecesum attulerint, ad respectivum directorem dioecesanum Piorum Operum Propagationis Fidei, S. Francisci Salesii et S. Infantiae transmittendas, ius habeant ad facultates et privilegia parochorum?"

II. "An directores praedicti auctoritate polleant easdem facultates et privilegia iisdem secretariis communicandi?"

Respondendum mandavit: "Negative ad utrumque".

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *Secretarius.*

L. * S.

✠ DONATUS, ARCHIEP. EPHESIN., *Adsessor S. O.*

II.

DECRETUM: SOLVUNTUR QUAEDAM DUBIA CIRCA INDULGENTIAS APOSTOLATUI ORATIONIS ADNEXAS.

Propositis Supremae huic S. Congregationi S. Officii sequentibus dubiis:

I. "An is qui Apostolatui Orationis adscribitur, ut indulgentiam diei inscriptionis adnexam lucretur, loco ipsius diei inscriptionis, alium diem ad libitum sibi eligere possit?"

II. "An quotidiana matutina intentio, in praedicto Apostolatu per quamlibet formulam, secundum statuta, peragenda, fieri possit per actum mere internum?"

Emi ac Rmi PP. Cardinales Inquisitores Generales, feria IV, die 9 iunii 1915, respondendum censuerunt:

Ad I. "Negative".

Ad II. "Intentionem formula vocali esse exprimendam".

Et feria V subsequenti, die 10 iisdem mense et anno, Ssmus D. N. D. Benedictus div. prov. Pp. XV, in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, Emorum PP. sententiam adprobavit, Suaque Suprema Auctoritate confirmavit.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *Secretarius.*

L. * S.

✠ DONATUS, ARCHIEP. EPHESIN., *Adsessor S. O.*

III.

DECRETUM: QUO CONFIRMATUR DECRETUM S. C. INDULGENTIARUM DIEI XII MARTII MDCCCLV CIRCA PRIVILEGII ALTARIS APPLICATIONEM.

Supremae Sacrae Congregationi S. Officii proposito sequenti dubio: "An Decretum S. Congr. Indulgentiarum d. d. 12 martii 1855 abrogatum censendum sit per resolutiones ab eadem S. Congregatione datas diebus 19 iunii 1880 et 19 decembris 1885; ita ut, tum Sacerdos celebrans, tum fidelis offerens Missae stipendium omnino elicere debeant intentionem, saltem virtualem, lucrandi pro defuncto Indulgentiam plenariam Altaris privilegiati?", Emi ac Rmi PP. Cardinales Generales Inquisitores, feria IV, die 16 iunii 1915, respondendum censuerunt: *Negative.*

Et Ssmus Dnus noster D. Benedictus div. prov. Pp. XV, in audientia insequenti feria V, die 17 eiusdem mensis et anni,

R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, EE. PP. sententiam adprobavit et confirmavit.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

R. Card. Merry del Val, *Secretarius.*

L. * S.

✠ Donatus, Archiep. Ephesin., *Adsessor S. O.*

IV.

Decretum: Amplificatur Indulgentia cuidam Preci Iaculatoriae adnexa, ita ut toties quoties acquiri possit.

Die 8 iulii 1915.

Ssmus D. N. D. Benedictus div. prov. Pp. XV, in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, benigne concedere dignatus est, ut omnes et singuli christifideles, recitantes iaculatoriam precem ad Iesum italico sermone sic expressam: "O Gesù, vita eterna nel seno del Padre, vita delle anime fatte a vostra somiglianza, in nome del vostro amore fate conoscere, svelate il vostro Cuore", cui indulgentia tercentorum dierum a s. m. Pio Pp. X per Rescriptum manu propria diei 11 martii 1907 semel in die lucranda tributa erat, valeant in posterum eamdem indulgentiam, animabus quoque in purgatorio degentibus profuturam, toties lucrari, quoties relatam precem, corde saltem contrito, recitaverint. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

✠ C. Card. De Lai, Episcopus Sabinensis.

L. * S.

✠ Donatus, Archiep. Ephesin., *Adsessor S. O.*

V.

Decretum: Conceduntur Indulgentiae Recitantibus Orationes quasdam pro Pace.

Die 5 augusti 1915.

Ssmus D. N. D. Benedictus div. prov. Pp. XV, in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, omnibus et singulis christifidelibus corde saltem contrito recitantibus piissimam orationem, remotissima vetustate venerandam, in Canone Missae asservatam, cum adiectis invocationibus, ut sequitur: "Libera nos, quaesumus, Domine, ab omnibus malis praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris; et intercedente beata et gloriosa

semper Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria, cum beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea et omnibus Sanctis, da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiae tuae adiuti, et a peccato simus semper liberi, et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per eumdem Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.—Pax Domini sit semper nobiscum.—Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem", vel quocumque alio idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, quoties id egerint, toties Indulgentiam trecentorum dierum, defunctis quoque profuturam, benigne concessit. Iis praeterea, qui easdem preces per mensem recitare consueverint, semel infra eumdem mensem, dummodo confessi ac s. Synaxi refecti, ad mentem Summi Pontificis pie oraverint, plenariam Indulgentiam, similiter animabus defunctorum applicabilem, clementer elargiri dignatus est. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro, absque ulla brevis expeditione.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

R. Card. Merry del Val, *Secretarius*.

S. CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS.

Decretum: Excommunicationis Nominalis in Sacerdotem Richardum O'Halloran in Archidioecesi Westmonasteriensi degentem.

Debita canonicae disciplinae ratio exigit ut qui ecclesiasticas leges graviter offendit corrigatur, et si monita mitioresque sanctiones ipse spernat, gravioribus poenis coërceatur.

Itaque quum sacerdos dioecesis Medioburgensis Richardus O'Halloran in dioecesim Westmonasteriensem anno 1888 venisset et licentiam ad tempus obtinuisset sacrum ministerium exercendi in loco Ealing; dimissus autem et a dioecesi Westmonasteriensi discedere compulsus, quum obstinate oboedire recusasset, ab Ordinario Westmonasteriensi die 21 aprilis 1897 suspendi debuit a divinis. At ipse, spreta censura, Missam sacrilege celebrare et parochialia munia penes aliquot sibi adeptos temere exercere usque in praesens non destitit, cum maxima fidelium offensione, parvum illud schisma, quod ab Ealing vocatur, creando. Monita, adhortationes, pia consilia virorum religiosorum, Ordinarii Westmonasteriensis, imo ipsius Apostolicae Sedis, iterum ite-

rumque interposita, ut ad saniorem mentem eum adducerent, frustra semper cesserunt. Unde tandem, quum sacerdos O'Halloran in schismatis et sacrilegii scandalo perseveraret, quum etiam ob insordescentiam in censuris suspectus de haeresi evaderet, ad tantam animi pervicaciam frangendam et ad tam ingens rebellionis et profanationis sacrorum scandalum reparandum, die 5 iunii 1915, de consulto Emorum Patrum Sacrae Congregationis Consistorialis, mandante Ssmo Domino Nostro Benedicto Pp. XV, praefixus fuit memorato sacerdoti peremptorius decem dierum terminus ad obediendum, cum comminatione excommunicationis nominatim infligendae, si contumax adhuc persisteret.

Sed constitit praefixum temporis terminum praeteriisse quin infelix sacerdos ullum resipiscentiae signum praebuisset.

Ideoque praesenti consistoriali decreto, de mandato ipsius Ssmi Domini Nostri, etsi cum dolore, ad salutarem tamen eiusdem sacerdotis correctionem, ad ecclesiasticae disciplinae tutelam, ad scandali reparationem, sacerdos Richardus O'Halloran ab Ecclesiae communione separatur et seiungitur, et in poenam excommunicationis eumdem incidisse, ipsumque a fidelibus omnibus iuxta ecclesiasticas leges esse vitandum, denunciatur, declaratur et statuitur.

Datum Romae, ex aedibus Sacrae Congregationis Consistorialis, die 14 iulii 1915.

✠ C. Card. De Lai, Ep. Sabinen., *Secretarius.*

ROMAN CURIA.

Pontifical Appointments.

27 July: Mr. Francis Nicholas Blundell, of the Archdiocese of Liverpool, made privy chamberlain of Cape and Sword.

5 August: Mgr. Francis Pelletier, Rector of Laval University, Quebec, made Protonotary Apostolic *ad instar participantium.*

9 August: The Right Rev. Joseph MacRory, Vice-President of Maynooth College, appointed Bishop of Down and Connor, Ireland.

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

S. CONGREGATION OF HOLY OFFICE (Section of Indulgences): 1. Answers queries having to do with the faculties and privileges enjoyed by diocesan directors of the Propagation of the Faith, the association of St. Francis de Sales, and of the Holy Childhood.

2. Decides doubts about the indulgences attached to the Apostleship of Prayer. The daily morning intention must be made vocally.

3. Intention, on the part of the celebrant and the person who offers a Mass stipend, for the gaining of the plenary indulgence attached to a privileged altar.

4. Indulgences attached to a certain ejaculatory prayer in honor of the Sacred Heart may be gained *toties quoties*.

5. Indulgences granted for the recitation of certain prayers for peace.

S. CONSISTORIAL CONGREGATION: Decree of excommunication by name of Richard O'Halloran, a priest living in London.

ROMAN CURIA announces officially the recent pontifical appointments.

ARE NON-CATHOLIC MARRIAGES VALID?

The Castellane-Gould marriage case has been decided in third instance by the Roman Rota.[1] In this third decision the Rota affirmed its first decision and reversed its second. Hence, "Non constare de nullitate matrimonii in casu".

Is this final? In the publication *Rome*, 26 June, 1915, page 303, it is stated: "Count Castellane is credited with the intention of appealing to the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Segnatura with a view to the case being sent back to the S. Roman Rota for re-hearing, which, in a matrimonial case, is

[1] *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 21 June, 1915, pp. 292-313.

never impossible, but such an appeal would have to rest on very strong grounds indeed to succeed."

What is of greater interest to the readers of the REVIEW is the precise statement of the Rota on the value of belief of non-Catholics as to the dissolubility of the marriage contract. In this and in other countries the contract is generally made in the belief that it can be rescinded for any cause whatsoever. Does such a belief nullify the contract? Marriage is so much de-christianized that it is no longer a sacrament outside the Catholic faith. Since the sacramental character of Christian marriage is inseparable from the contract—" in Christo et in Ecclesia " (Ephes. 5 : 32)—it will be interesting to learn how the Church looks upon marriage contracted outside of her fold as stripped of its sacramental character by law, custom, or belief.

The question is not a new one. It was mooted even in apostolic times. Our Lord was interrogated regarding marriage in the Mosaic law. He emphatically declared, that " it was not thus from the beginning, and what God hath joined, no man shall put asunder" (Matt. 19 : 6; Mk. 10 : 9).

In the reasoning whereon the Roman Rota bases its decision in the third instance of the Castellane-Gould case there is a very lucid exposition of the teaching of the Catholic Church regarding the nature of the marriage contract outside the Catholic Church. It ought to be encouraging for all serious-minded people who desire to see the very foundation of human society strengthened against the weakening influence of modern opinion on divorce, by such an authority as the Catholic Church.

About the intention that may nullify the marriage contract we have already in this REVIEW [2] summarized the reasoning of the Rota on a marriage case from Oregon. The explicit and positive intention not to contract an indissoluble marriage makes the contract null and void. But the intention to avoid the consequences of marriage must be fixed by mutual agreement in order to nullify it. In either case however the intention must be clearly proved. As long as proof is not furnished, the marriage will be held valid—" nisi certa ratio adsit nullum declarare illud ". This is the presumption throughout the

[2] June, 1915, pp. 718-721.

process of the Castellane-Gould case in its third instance. The erroneous belief of the non-Catholic party in the case, that marriage is divorceable, was very likely the motive that led her to consent to the marriage with Castellane, yet "error circa indissolubilitatem conjugii menti suae inhaerens et dans causam contractui, juxta doctrinam communem supra expositam, documentis pontificiis firmatam, non irritat matrimonium" (p. 304). As there was no evidence of a positive and absolute act of the will in the consent, it is presumed that she still intended to contract marriage according to God's law—"nam semper praesumendum est, contrahentes voluntatem habuisse matrimonium ineundi juxta Dei institutum, cujus cognitionem nullibi divina providentia prorsus obscurari sinivit, non obstantibus contrariis Reipublicae legibus, vel religionis cujusvis doctrinis" (p. 308). Obviously then the validity of the marriage was maintained. "Ut matrimonium sit invalidum, requiritur voluntas explicita, qua contrahens simpliciter et absolute vinculi perpetui exclusionem intendit, quo in casu nil refert an juxta legem civilem vel morem patriae etc. voluntas haec absoluta et explicita sese exprimat" (p. 309). The Rota decided this marriage case, complicated because of the intention of the non-Catholic party to contract according to her belief, that she could dissolve it for any cause, in a manner that leaves no doubt about the divine law ruling all marriages, unless it is set aside by the contracting parties by an explicit and absolute act of their will.

Another question decided by the Rota concerns the nature of the marriage contract outside the Church. Is it, though not a sacrament and not in accord with Christian law, still indissoluble by its very nature? "Indissolubilitas est elementum essentiale matrimonialis contractus, a Deo ipso pro toto humano genere institutum, quod nec per ullam humanam legem nec per doctrinam acatholicam vel etiam catholicam, mutari potest. Excludi utique potest hoc elementum essentiale a parte nubente, in contracto faciendo, quum libere agat et liberum consensum praestare debet" (p. 303). Marriage is indissoluble and monogamic, its purpose to procreate, by the law of nature as well as by the revealed law. God, the Author of both, so stipulated for both. The Rota adduces clear evidence of this (p. 295). There is no exemption: "Intentio

nempe contrahendi matrimonium prout ab Auctore naturae vel a Christo institutum est". If the intention is explicitly exclusive of those two essential elements, there is simply no contract whether by the law of nature or of revelation; if however in consequence of belief, custom, or law, the intention is to contract a dissoluble marriage, the contract is valid, because the intention is based on erroneous belief.

In the Castellane-Gould case the Rota therefore declared: "duae praedictae voluntates in contrahente aderant, generalis nempe matrimonium contrahendi prout ab Auctore naturae institutum, cujus notitia a natura indita, etiam inter maximas gentium corruptas haud omnino obscurata est, et alia voluntas particularis contrahendi matrimonium dissolubile juxta patriae morum, etc." (p. 296). The reason why in this case the marriage was declared valid cannot fail to convince any unbiased mind; at the same time it assures every non-Catholic and Catholic as well that the "Church holds marriage among Hebrews, infidels, Greeks, Calvinists, and other sects to be valid, unless the explicit condition of its solubility was made" (quoted from Gasparri, p. 299). "Hence the marriage of infidels, heretics, and schismatics is valid, unless the contracting parties positively intend otherwise and manifested it outwardly, that they will contract none but a soluble marriage" (quoted from Wernz, p. 299). Such an intention is sometimes apparent from the ceremony, ritual, or form of marriage; for instance, from the ritual of Socialists. As common-law marriages, acknowledged in some States, have no prescribed form, it would be necessary to inquire into the intention of those cohabiting. "Excludi utique potest hoc elementum essentiale a parte nubente, in contractu faciendo, quum libere agat, et liberum consensum praestare debet; illo autem deliberate excluso, contractus matrimonialis non existit" (p. 303). Such a deliberate act would of course be a mortal sin, as all deliberate transgressions of God's law in grievous matters are grievous sins, unless ignorance of the law excuses them.

Marriage, therefore, outside the Church, though non-sacramental, is valid. Innocent III long since set this difference down in the Decretals, l. 4, tit. 19, c. 7: "Nam etsi matrimonium verum inter infideles, non tamen est ratum; inter fideles

autem et verum est et ratum existit, quia sacramentum fidei, quod semel est admissum, nunquam amittitur, sed ratum efficit conjugii sacramentum."

JOS. SELINGER.

Jefferson City, Missouri.

THE INTOLERANCE OF PROHIBITION.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The cause of safe and sane temperance reform is much indebted to the Rev. Lucian Johnston for his reasonable arguments against Prohibition in the October ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW. Catholics should beware of forming an alliance with Prohibition, which does not care for the protests of a minority, and does not respect even inalienable rights. By so doing it becomes in principle Socialistic, not democratic, and easily degenerates into fanaticism.

Very significant was the action of the Presbyterian General Assembly at Rochester, New York, 25 May, 1915, by which Dr. C. H. Parkhurst was condemned almost unanimously for expressing a reasonable conviction regarding the use of wine. The vote of censure was urged by the Rev. George I. Long, of San Jose, California. It was charged that Dr. Parkhurst had sent a telegram in October, 1914, to C. A. Scarboro, of San Francisco, in which he expressed his amazement that California should attempt to prohibit wine, chiefly for the economic reason that many large vineyards are located in that State. He was willing that strong drink such as whisky should be prohibited by law. In other words he approved Prohibition, with a reservation in favor of the use of wine. Many earnest advocates of temperance have held such an opinion without fear of censure from any tribunal under control of the dictates of reason. For the time being, however, fanatical emotionalism seemed to dominate the Presbyterians gathered at Rochester. Their almost unanimous vote condemned Dr. Parkhurst for making any exception in favor of wine.

By logical deduction all others holding a similar opinion stand condemned by the Supreme National Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The delegates who voted against "all intoxicating drinks, malt and spiritous liquors, whether known as light wines or heavy whiskies",

did not seem to realize that they were opposing St. Paul's advice in which he urged Timothy to take a little wine—not too much—for his stomach's sake. In his own day St. Paul described some censorious neighbors as desiring to be teachers of the law, yet understanding neither what they said, nor whereof they affirmed. Millions of God-fearing Christians in all ages have used wine in moderation, remembering that Christ Himself gave conspicuous approval to the custom at the marriage feast of Cana. Judged by numbers, the wine drinkers of past ages have an overwhelming majority in their favor, and among them many saints and sages, including the great St. Thomas Aquinas, who advocated temperance without the fanaticism of the Manichean heresy.

Among the pioneers of temperance reform in New England was the Rev. Nathaniel Hewit. His crusade was chiefly against the excessive use of rum. When urged to attack the use of wine he positively refused, according to the testimony of his Catholic son, the late Rev. Augustine F. Hewit, C.S.P. He was convinced that the Bible sanctioned the use of wine, especially in the Passover celebration. In a discussion with some of his fellow Presbyterians, Dr. Howard Crosby, prominent in New York City for many years, felt obliged to issue a pamphlet giving a critical account of the wine used as a beverage at the marriage feast of Cana. He quoted the interpretation of Catholic Scriptural scholars, and deplored the inaccurate knowledge of the Bible shown by the zealots of universal Prohibition. He insisted upon his right to be as broad as the New Testament, no broader, no narrower. What Christ the Master approved may not be condemned by any lesser authority. The ruler of the feast at Cana was a model of temperance in full possession of his faculty of discrimination when he gave his opinion that the wine made from water by an act of divine power was the best that had been served, though the usual custom was to provide the best wine at the opening of the feast.

Presbyterians in the United States have had a standard of intellectual accuracy and appreciation of the form of sound words. In the days of Dr. McCosh at Princeton University logical thought was fostered, and the cognitive faculties were strictly differentiated from volition. Dr. A. C. Hodge in the

New Princeton Review, January, 1887, made a near approach to the correct position on the School Question when he stated that the Catholic Church had preserved the theory of education upon which "our fathers founded the public schools of the nation". Hence it is that we deplore the signs of decadence in recent years. The declaration of the Presbyterian Assembly at Rochester, condemning the lawful use of wine without any reservation even for sacramental purposes, must be classified as hysterical, suggestive of a camp meeting revival, or a sentimental resolution of the Women's Christian Temperance Union intended to scare members of Congress inclined to vote for the much-needed restoration of the army canteen. This unreasonable attitude of the W. C. T. U. is one of the strongest arguments that can be found against woman suffrage. Leading temperance advocates, among them Catholic bishops, and prominent officers of the army, have argued that the sale of wine and beer to the soldiers under competent supervision conduced to habits of temperance. As a body the W. C. T. U. has shown itself deaf to all appeals of reason.

THOMAS MCMILLAN, C.S.P.

New York City.

THE ANGELS' CEMETERY—WHY IS IT NEGLECTED?

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Parish priests are exhorted very earnestly to revive the ancient and beautiful custom of having a separate place in the cemetery for the angels of the flock who have died in their innocence, and who have entered Heaven without passing through Purgatory.

There should be three separate sections in every Catholic cemetery, one for the innocents, another, the major part of the cemetery, for the sinners, and a third place not blessed and outside of the cemetery for those who die without baptism.

The Angels' Cemetery, the Holy Innocents' Cemetery, the Infant Jesus Cemetery, the Cemetery of the Holy Child, and similar names, are suitable for the part of the cemetery set aside for those "who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth" and who sing a new canticle that no one else can sing, because they are virgins.

The Angels' Cemetery should have a little white chapel of the Infant Jesus in its centre, and a white pergola or cloister should surround it on all sides. The graves may be two feet by five. One acre, or a square of 200 feet, will last a country cemetery for a hundred years.

The adults' cemetery should speak of Purgatory; it should have a chapel of the Holy Souls. We should pray for those buried there, that God may grant them rest.

The Angels' Cemetery should be a reflexion of Heaven; it should have a little chapel of Bethlehem or Nazareth or of the Holy Child; we can pray to those buried there, for they are and always have been saints of God. The inscriptions on the walls of the cloister surrounding their little cemetery and addressed to those buried there should read: "All ye holy innocents, pray for us. All ye holy virgins, pray for us. All ye holy angels, pray for us."

Marble angels should stand at all its gateways, pointing heavenward and welcoming the little innocents who are joining their choir.

Many little children of six and under will be buried with their parents, but they also may be represented in the Angels' Cemetery, for each of the columns of the cloister or pergola that surrounds it can be made a memorial, and many parents will be glad to give one of these columns in memory of their loved little one whom God has called in its innocence.

The receipts from the Angels' Cemetery will never build a beautiful walk and cloister about it, but love of the Infant Jesus and of the little ones who are with Him, will do it.

It should be the flower garden of the cemetery; lilies, roses, and every beautiful flower should grow there; trees, fountains, shrines, singing birds, and everything that is beautiful may adorn it. Flowers are not suitable for sinners, but they are for the innocents. I want to have an Angels' Cemetery, and I shall be very much obliged to any of the readers of the REVIEW, who will tell me where I may see one that is very beautiful.

The Rubric reads: "In primis admonendi sunt Parochi, ut juxta vetustam et laudabilem ecclesiarum consuetudinem, parvulorum corpuscula non sepeliantur in communibus et promiscuis coemeteriorum et ecclesiarum sepulturis."

J. F. SHEAHAN.

Church of St. Peter, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

THE VIABILITY OF PREMATURELY BORN INFANTS.

Langstein of the Victoria Augusta Hospital in Berlin reported [1] a study of the growth and nutrition of 250 prematurely born infants, and he found that a weight of 1,000 grammes (2⅕ lbs.) and a full body length of 34 centimetres (13⅗ inches) are the lowest limits for viability under proper circumstances. A fetus 1,000 grammes in weight and 34 centimetres in length has completed the sixth solar, or calendar month, or the sixth and a half lunar month—it is beginning its seventh month, not ending it, yet it is viable.

The child at term, as a rough average, is from 48 to 52 centimetres (19 to 20½ inches) in length, and it weighs from about 6⅗ to 7½ lbs. It is impossible, however, to obtain the sizes and weights of infants *in utero* with scientific accuracy, because the date of conception can not be determined with absolute certainty, and individual infants *in utero* vary as they do after birth. A full term infant sometimes may weigh only 3½ lbs., when the mother is diseased, and at times an eight month fetus will weigh as much as 8 lbs. Large muscular women and fat women have large babies; women of the well-to-do classes have larger babies than do the poor; women who work during gestation bear smaller babies than those women do who rest. Mothers that work in tobacco, lead or phosphorus have puny babies. White children are larger at birth than negro children; boys are from 3 to 5 ounces heavier than girls at term.

Langstein says that prematurely born infants weighing from 900 grammes (31½ ounces) to 1,500 grammes (3½ lbs.), that is, all born before the seventh solar month, must be kept in hot water incubators in a room with ordinary ventilation. Babies weighing 2,000 grammes (4½ lbs.) or more get along in an ordinary crib if they are kept surrounded with hot-water bags. Such children are to be fed with human milk through a catheter passed into the mouth or they die of inanition. Only a few of them are strong enough to suck from a bottle, and these give up the effort after a few days and die. They can not utilize fat, even from milk; and all artificial food is dangerous.

[1] *Berliner klinische Wochenschrift*, 14 June, 1915.

Most of the prematurely born become rachitic, and even human milk is no preventive of this condition. Rachitis is a constitutional disease, characterized by impaired nutrition of the bones and changes in their shape. In the third or fourth month craniotabes is very frequent—this is an atrophy of the skull bones with the formation of small conical pits. These infants show also a morbid tendency to convulsions—spasmophilia. Such diseases are caused by a lack of mineral salts which normally are carried to the fetus by the placental blood during the last months of gestation. Because of this lack, premature infants require the administration of lime salts in their food; they also need iron because they are anaemic.

A fetus, then, of six calendar, or solar, months (not lunar), is viable if treated in a hospital by competent physicians. Otherwise it is not viable, except in a strictly technical sense; it will not live more than a few days or weeks. Reports of infants younger than six months as having been successfully raised are unreliable, to say the least—it is easy to make an error in the reckoning.

A full seven months infant may be reared with proper feeding and skilled care; a six months infant may be reared (with difficulty) in a hospital with skilled care. If it is certain that the removal of a six months fetus will here and now save the life of a mother (a very difficult matter to judge by the best diagnosticians) this removal may be done, provided the infant is delivered in circumstances where skilled care, incubator, and proper food are obtainable—otherwise the removal is not justifiable. That the ordinary physician says it is necessary to empty the uterus is not a sufficient reason—the ordinary physician is likely to act from ill-digested information set forth by professional pagans in a text-book.

A most important and essential circumstance in the matter of inducing abortion at the end of the sixth month of gestation to save a mother's life is that in practically every case requiring such interference the diseased condition of the mother has checked the growth of the fetus, and the fetus therefore is really not a six-month child in development. Such an undeveloped fetus is not viable. Eclamptic women, and those that have nephritis are most likely to have undeveloped fetuses. In cases of this kind the seventh month should be completed before interference.

AUSTIN O'MALLEY.

Philadelphia, Pa.

NAME OF VICAR APOSTOLIC IN CANON OF THE MASS.

Qu. May the clergy of a Vicariate Apostolic include the name of the Vicar Apostolic in the Canon of the Mass in the place reserved for the bishop's name?

Resp. By a decree of the S. Congregation of the Propaganda, dated 11 June, 1853, it is forbidden to include the name of the Vicar Apostolic in the Canon of the Mass or to include in the Mass the Collect *pro episcopo* on the anniversary of the election or consecration of the Vicar Apostolic.

DOES THE CONGREGATION KNEEL OR STAND AT "ET INCARNATUS EST"?

Qu. Should the people kneel while the choir is singing "Et incarnatus est"? Wapelhorst says (ninth edition, page 161): "The acolytes should kneel at the 'Et incarnatus est'", which of course would mean that all the altar boys and the sanctuary boys, unless engaged in singing, should likewise kneel. What puzzles me somewhat is that Wapelhorst says again (page 166): "The people (or the congregation) at a solemn Mass, or at a *Missa cantata,* can laudably observe the same order that is prescribed for the clergy in choir", and he refers to note 4, page 165, where he gives the order for standing, sitting, and genuflecting for the choir. The note says: "When the 'Et incarnatus est' is sung, all who are sitting should profoundly incline the head, and those who are standing should kneel on both knees." Does this apply to the congregation, which, of course, is sitting while the choir sings the Credo? Should they continue sitting and bow their heads, or should they kneel when the "Et incarnatus est" is sung? If there is any authoritative decision on this question, I should like very much to be referred to it.

Resp. There seems to be no general rule as to those who assist at Mass outside the sanctuary. When, as in some European countries, civil magistrates assist at Mass in the sanctuary or in some place specially reserved for them, a decree of the S. Congregation of Rites dating from 13 June, 1676, would seem to apply: "Stantes genuflectere debent ad versum *Et incarnatus est;* sedentes vero inclinare caput". The rule laid down by Wapelhorst, page 166, n. 9, "The people can laudably observe the order prescribed for the choir", is a general regulation which, as Wapelhorst himself points out in the

same paragraph, suffers exception due to local custom or particular enactment. He instances the observance in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati of the custom of kneeling from the Sanctus to the Communion. The custom of kneeling during the singing of "Et incarnatus est" is a laudable one, and might well be an exception to Wapelhorst's general rule.

A CASE OF JUST PRICE.

Qu. A is administrator of an estate, consisting of land worth $125 to $150 an acre, which he must sell, though not absolutely forced to do so. B, knowing he has no competition, bids $112.50 an acre for the land; at the same time, he tells A to let him know if a higher bid is made, in which case he will bid more, as he is anxious to get the land and will give as much as anyone else. Is A justified in sending C to look at the land, and, seeing that B is trying to get it under value, put in a fictitious bid of $125 an acre? May A then inform B that he has received another bid, and that, if B wishes to get the land, he must pay $125 an acre? It seems to me that justice is not violated. But what do you think of the means employed by A?

Resp. There can be no question of the illegality of the means employed. When A declared that he had received a (genuine) bid of $125 an acre, he told an untruth. As regards the question of justice, the whole matter, of course, turns on whether $125 an acre was a just, or an excessive price. Our subscriber declares that the land was "worth" $125 to $150 an acre. At the same time, he says that A "must sell, though not absolutely forced to do so". The phrase is, to say the least, ambiguous. What were the terms of A's power as administrator? What were the circumstances that inclined, but did not compel him, to sell? If A was obliged to sell at auction, the case would be very different from that of a sale according to the *pretium vulgare*. Let us suppose that the latter is the case. Moralists allow a fluctuation of the *pretium vulgare* between a *summum*, a *medium*, and an *infimum*. Taking the estimated value of the land to be "from $125 to $150 an acre", it would seem that the price paid, namely $125, is not above the maximum, if we take $150 as our standard, nor below the minimum, if we take the original offer of $112.50.

REFUTATION OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

Qu. The Rev. F. X. M., pastor of a country parish, has lost some of his parishioners, who have become Christian Scientists. Worrying over this matter, he called, in his spare moments, on the Rev. F. L. C., seeking from him some strong arguments against Christian Science. Unfortunately, his learned friend could not furnish anything like a strong refutation. He therefore has recourse to the REVIEW, with the request that you indicate, for his benefit and that of other readers of the REVIEW, a strong line of argument against Christian Science.

Resp. Some one has said of Christian Scientists that he is a fool who agrees with them, and a greater fool who disagrees with them. The saying, apart from its harshness, seems justified. It is difficult, not to say impossible, to convince a Christian Scientist by argument. We have, for example, the late Father Lambert's book *Christian Science before the Bar of Reason* (New York, 1908), an excellent refutation of Christian Science from the point of view of "Reason". But what is the opponent of Christian Science to do when his adversary denies the competency of "Reason" and refers to the conclusions of Reason as "errors of mortal mind"? One may, indeed, appeal to common sense. That line of argument seems promising. For example, from a recent publication we cull the following: "There is to be a monument erected to Mrs. Baker Eddy in Mt. Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, at a cost of $110,000. This is a little puzzling. For, if the contention of Christian Science is true, that nothing exists outside the mind, save in imagination, where is the monument going to be? In the imagination? It seems a rather big price to pay for an imaginary monument. Moreover, if we may believe Mrs. Eddy, all matter is 'an error of mortal mind'. Yet, here are her affluent followers perpetuating a 'heresy' it was her lifework and mission to combat." Very aptly argued. But, if the Christian Scientist, like many another fanatical theorist, meets you with the paradox that "common sense is common nonsense", what becomes of the appeal to common sense? Again, not only is the practice of the Christian Scientist inconsistent with his theory, but the theory itself is full of inherent contradictions. A pamphlet of the Catholic Truth

Society of Pittsburgh (by Dr. Coakley), entitled *Christian Science and the Catholic Church* (Pittsburgh, 1912), furnishes a list of contradictions found in Mrs. Eddy's book, *Science and Health,* and the list could be extended. But, unfortunately, the controversialist will find that the average Christian Scientist is not sensitive to the enormity of these contradictions. By a kind of super-logic peculiar to his sect, he transcends the ordinary canons of consistent and coherent thinking.

In fact, Christian Science is not so much a conviction as a state of mind, and should be dealt with psychologically, not argumentatively. If, as seems to be plainly the case, defection of Catholics to Christian Science is due to loss of faith, the remedy is obvious. Loss of faith can be prevented by means natural and supernatural. If in individual instances the predisposition to accept Christian Science is due to the obsession of some particular idea, the remedy is psychological. For example, it may be the wholly imaginary existence of some physical ill, or, if the malady is real, the unwise persistence in the use of self-prescribed medicines. Instruction, advice, encouragement, administered in due season, may offset this condition. And in dealing with the *malade imaginaire* why should not the priest forestall the Christian Science practitioner? Such a belief *is* unchristian; it *is* morally wrong; it *is* a sin. Those whom God has blessed with sound health certainly sin against charity when, by dwelling on imaginary ills, they make life miserable for themselves and others. It would seem to be the pastor's duty to emphasize this view in individual cases, and by so doing he may prevent a parishioner from becoming a victim of the Christian Science healer. Looking over the communications published by "converts" in the Christian Science periodicals, one is struck by the fact that, in nine cases out of ten, the "conversion" is due to relief from some physical ailment "which drugs and physicians had failed to cure". The world-old principle of medical practice, "Prevention is better than cure", applies to all kinds of defection from the faith. It applies with special force to the defections about which our correspondent is worried. We can only hint at the means of prevention, while we reiterate that the cure, the ordinary cure, logical refutation, is in most cases unsuccessful.

THE ASSUMPTION OF DEBTS BY RELIGIOUS.

Qu. Kindly give in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW an interpretation of the Decree of the S. Congregation of Religious, 30 July, 1909, in regard to the debts and other financial obligations contracted by religious communities. Does it apply to this country, and, if so, how far does it apply to heads of dioceses, and to local, provincial, and general superiors of institutes in the United States?

Resp. The decree of the S. Congregation of Religious dated 30 July, 1909, is given in full in the REVIEW for November, 1909 (Vol. XLI, pp. 609 ff.). After praising the zeal with which religious communities extend the scope of their activity by undertaking increased educational and philanthropic labors, the S. Congregation calls attention to the fact that often the financial burdens assumed by reason of these improvements are contrary to the spirit of prudent and just administration. It therefore ordains that in the future no religious order, congregation, or institute, of either sex, whether bound by solemn or simple vows, no religious monastery, college or house, whether subject to the bishop or independent, shall contract any "notable debt", or undertake directly or indirectly any "notable obligation" of a financial nature except under the following conditions:

1. General superiors shall consult their general council and obtain its consent.

2. Provincial superiors shall obtain the consent of the provincial council, likewise the consent of the general and his or her council.

3. Local superiors shall obtain the consent of the local council of the monastery or religious house over which they preside, and also the consent of the general superior and his or her council.

4. In case there is no general superior, the local superior shall obtain the consent of the local council, and the written permission (*licentia*) of the ordinary, if the house or monastery is not exempt from his jurisdiction.

The decree next defines the term "notable". A notable debt in the case of a local community would be a sum ranging from $100 to $200; in the case of a provincial house, $200 to $1,000, and in the case of the general government of a re-

ligious order (*curia generalis*), a sum exceeding $1,000. In case any community, local, provincial, or general (*curia generalis*) wishes to contract a debt in excess of $2,000, the consent of the Holy See is required in addition to the consent of council and superiors, as stated above.

In computing the amount for which permission is requested, existing debts must be included. The decree then proceeds to order the establishment, within three months, of councils where such do not exist.

In 1910 the Apostolic Delegate to the United States was requested by the Archbishops of the United States to ask the Holy See for an increase of the amount mentioned in the decree as the greatest sum which religious could borrow without the Holy See's consent. In answer to his petition the S. Congregation of Religious replied that it referred the matter to the prudent judgment and conscience of the Apostolic Delegate, and empowered him to authorize for a period of ten years the increase of the maximum amount to $10,000. "I, therefore," writes the Apostolic Delegate, under date of 11 October, 1910, "in virtue of the said rescript, hereby authorize, for a period of ten years, the ordinaries of the dioceses of the United States, *onerata tamen eorum conscientia,* to permit the religious communities of their respective dioceses to contract debts up to the sum of 50,000 francs ($10,000) without having recourse to the Holy See. It is, however, to be remembered that all the other provisions of the above-mentioned decree remain in full force."

This exposition of the decree, and of the rescript which followed it answers, we hope, the various points raised by our correspondent. A more detailed discussion of the question will be published in an early issue of the REVIEW.

A MATRIMONIAL CASE.

Qu. There is a law in this State prohibiting marriage between uncle and niece, between first cousins, and "between white persons and persons of color". The penalty for violation of this article of the civil code is incurred both by the contracting parties and the officiating minister. If such cases present themselves, would it be permitted to follow Father Lehmkuhl's opinion, as given on page 477 of volume LII of the REVIEW, and allow the performance of these

marriages without the presence of the priest, when urgent reasons justify such a union? If the answer is in the affirmative, can we consider as valid civil marriages contracted by such parties through deception or fraud, that is, by not declaring the relationship when applying for the license, or by going to a neighboring State, where such marriages are not prohibited?

Resp. The case discussed by Father Lehmkuhl is substantially as follows: According to the Decree *Ne temere* the presence of the parish priest of the locality where the marriage takes place is required for the validity of the contract before the Church. Sometimes, however, the marriage between certain parties is forbidden by the civil law which has constituted an impediment not recognized by the Church. May the marriage, in that case, be contracted in the presence of witnesses, without the presence of the parish priest? The Decree *Ne temere* recognizes two cases in which the presence of the parish priest is not required, namely (1) when there is danger of death, in order to quiet the consciences of the parties and to legitimate the offspring, if the parish priest cannot be present, the marriage may be contracted validly in the presence of any priest; (2) when it is impossible to have the presence of the ordinary, the parish priest, or any priest duly delegated, and this condition lasts for one month or more, a valid marriage may be contracted by the parties without a priest, in the presence of two witnesses. The question now arises whether, even when there is no danger of death, and even when there is no dearth of priests duly delegated, the marriage may be validly contracted without the presence of a priest. Father Lehmkuhl answered in the affirmative, in case the priest is prevented by civil law from being present; and he bases his opinion on two decisions, that of the S. Congregation of the Propaganda (24 March, 1909) and that of the S. Congregation of the Sacraments (26 November, 1909).[1]

It is, however, carefully to be noted that the priest to whom such a case presents itself must ascertain that there exists no canonical impediment. He must oblige the contracting parties to report the marriage to him without delay, and should enter it at once in the parish registry. He should, moreover, re-

[1] See REVIEW, LII, p. 478.

member that this is a very exceptional mode of procedure, and, we think, would do well, in each case that may occur, to consult his bishop before taking any action. Finally, there is an admonition in the decree of the S. Congregation of the Sacraments to the effect that the parties should be put under obligation to fulfill the civil formalities as soon as they can do so, and the decree further advises that a record of that obligation be filed in the episcopal chancery. It seems to us that, in view of the implication contained in this admonition, our correspondent should, by all means, consult his bishop on the advisability of following in the cases cited by him a decision that does not mention the particular circumstances which complicate those cases.

MAY SUBDEACONS AND DEACONS ANTICIPATE MATINS AND LAUDS AT TWO O'CLOCK P. M.?

Qu. Priests in the United States have the privilege, by special faculty (Extraord. C. num. 1.), "recitandi privatim, legitima concurrente causa, matutinum cum laudibus diei sequentis, statim elapsis duabus horis post meridiem, eamdemque facultatem ecclesiasticis viris sive saecularibus sive regularibus communicandi". Does this privilege extend to men in sacred orders who are not priests?

Resp. The fact that the Holy See grants a special faculty to anticipate Matins and Lauds at two o'clock would seem to indicate it is a privilege and not the general rule. It appears therefore to be within the Ordinary's discretion, whether or not to grant the faculty to men in sacred orders. In general we may assume that with the injunction to recite the Canonical Hours goes also the tacit permission to do so according to recognized local law or privilege. It would be more satisfactory, no doubt, if there were some formal expression of what faculties subdeacons and deacons enjoy, as in the case of priests sent to their missions.

A comparatively recent decision of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, however, leads to the legitimate conclusion that all those who are obliged to recite the Canonical Office may *suo jure* anticipate Matins and Lauds at two o'clock, even where there is no special faculty to that effect. In answer to the question, "Utrum in privata recitatione Matutinum pro inse-

quenti die incipi possit hora secunda pomeridiana", the S. Congregation simply replied, "Affirmative". (S. R. C., 12 May, 1905.) Formerly the answer to a similar question was, "Consulantur probati auctores". Father Barrett in his latest edition of Sabetti's *Theologia Moralis* interprets the above answer to the Bishop of Placentia as of general application. Accordingly there would be no reason for a special faculty.

SACRAMENTAL PENANCE.

Qu. In regard to the penance imposed on penitents by the priest in the confessional, is it proper to tell them to say certain prayers for the souls in Purgatory? To impose such a penance, is it necessary that only venial sins be confessed, or can it be imposed for grievous sins?

Resp. Theologians approve the practice of imposing on penitents prayers and good works for the benefit of the souls in Purgatory. They maintain that the effect which such prayers and good works have *ex opere operantis* is for the benefit of the souls in Purgatory, while the effect *ex opere operato* satisfies for the punishment due to the penitent, and, in general, is for his benefit. There is no reason why a penance of this kind may not be imposed for grievous sins. The general principle is laid down in the Acts of the Council of Trent: "Debent Sacerdotes Domini . . . pro qualitate criminum et poenitentium facultate, salutares et convenientes satisfactiones iniungere, ne si forte peccatis coniveant . . . laevissima quaedam opera pro gravissimis delictis iniungendo alienorum peccatorum participes efficiantur" (Sess. XIV, Cap. 8).

CONFRATERNITY OF THE DIVINE INFANT OF PRAGUE.

Those who are interested in the devotion to the Divine Infant of Prague, concerning which a query was answered in the REVIEW for October, 1915, will be glad to have their attention called to the Letter of His Eminence Cardinal Merry del Val, then Secretary of State, dated 30 March, 1913, authorizing the General of the Discalced Carmelites to erect Societies (Confraternities) of the Divine Infant of Prague, under the usual condition of obtaining the consent of the Ordinary.

Ecclesiastical Library Table.

RECENT BIBLE STUDY.

9. JEWISH CHRISTOLOGIES.

I. Jesus in the Talmud. By the Talmud, "the doctrine", is meant the Mishna and Gemara. The Mishna, "the Repetition", is a collection of Jewish traditions and interpretations of the law, made about A. D. 220 by Rabbi Yehudah. Each legal interpretation is called a Halakhah (from Halakh, *to walk*)—a legal norm according to which one should walk, if one would keep in the way of the Mosaic law. These legal norms, Halakhoth, were made the subject of many Rabbinical discussions. The discussions are called Gemara. They are of two groups, the Palestinian and the Babylonian. The Palestinian Talmud, therefore, contains the Mishna of Yehudah together with the Gemara or discussions of the Palestinian rabbis; the Babylonian Talmud is the very same collection of Halakhoth, called the Mishna, together with Babylonian discussions or Gemara. These two collections of the Mishna and authentic interpretations thereof have always been held in highest esteem by the Jews. The rating of Jesus in the Talmud is on this account of interest to the student of Christology.

Talmudic legends about the Saviour are most revolting. They have been gathered together by R. Travers Hereford [1] and Laible-Dalman.[2] A summary of these offensive libels may be seen in Hereford's article on "Christ in Jewish Literature", in Hastings, *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*[3] Illegitimacy of birth, tricks by magic, a shameful death, and finally eternal damnation to a specific and disgusting torture —all these things are included in the shameful Talmudic traditions of Jesus.[4]

II. Medieval Jewish Christology. 1. *Toledoth Yeshu'*. The hatred of Jesus which the Talmud instilled into its votaries received even more concrete form in the vulgar medieval lampoon called the *Toledoth Yeshu'*, "The History of Jesus". This silly tale of about 24 pages caricatures the Gospel narrative and adds to the legends of the Talmud. A strange feature of the yarn is that Yeshu' acquires his wonderful power by

[1] *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, 1904.
[2] *Jesus Christus im Talmud.* [3] Scribner's, New York, 1909, II, p. 877.
[4] Cf. Babylonian Talmud: *Yebamot*, iv, 13; *Shabbat*, 104b; *Gittin*, 56b, 57a.

trickily learning the secret of the Unutterable Name of God—i. e. Yahweh. By the forcefulness of this Name he is said to have wrought wonders and to have been able to proclaim himself the Son of God, born of a Virgin. The lampoon served its purpose and provided reading matter for the ignorant Jews; to them mockery of the Founder of Christianity was a natural outlet for hatred of the faith. But only the ignorant were thus provided.

2. *Nizzahon.* Among the rabbinical class there was always, contemporaneous with the spread of *Toledoth Yeshu'*, a representative group of rabbis who strove to ward off from the Talmud the charge of infamously writing up Jesus of Nazareth; and to prove unhistoric the Christian story of the death of the Lord. These rabbis held that the Talmudic Yeshu' was not Jesus the God of the Christians. Many such medieval rabbinical theories are contained in Wagenseil, *Tela Ignea Satanae.*[5] In a disputation, held at Paris, on 25 June, 1240, between Rabbi Yehiel and a converted Jew named Nicholaus Donin, the rabbi disclaimed all Talmudic vituperation of Jesus:

> We have not spoken thus against the God of the Gentiles but only against another Jesus, who mocked at the words of the wise and did not believe in their words. . . . Moreover, if it had been he (i. e. Jesus the Nazarene), he not only did this but also deceived and led astray Israel, and made himself God, and denied the essence (of religion). But, clearly, it was another man, who did not deny the written law but only the oral and is called a *min* (heretic).[6]

A twelfth century author of *Nizzahon*[7] admits that Jesus was worthy of respect; but attempts, out of both Testaments, to make good his claim that Jesus was not God.

3. *Troki.* Rabbi Isaac Troki,[8] a Karaite of the latter part of the sixteenth century, shows even greater familiarity with the New Testament than does the author of *Nizzahon.* Indeed, his work would pass for creditable higher criticism among rationalistic New Testament scholars of to-day. From internal evidence, Troki makes pretence to show that Jesus was nearer to Judaism than are Christians; that he made no claim to be God; that he deemed the ten commandments the only condition of obtaining life eternal, etc. Here is a sample argument. Jesus said, "Think not, I am come to destroy the

[5] Published 1681.

[6] Cf. Wagenseil, p. 16.

[7] Included in op. cit.

[8] Cf. *Hizzuk Emunah,* "Bulwark of the Faith," in Wagenseil.

law or the prophets".[9] With the instinct of a higher critic, the learned rabbi concludes from this saying, that Jesus considered himself a Jew under the Mosaic Code and under the guidance of the writings of the Prophets of Israel. The rabbi's argument is worth pursuing.

Let us look to the text of Matthew. We find most important words are omitted. A modern higher critic might readily trump up a reason to omit the rest of the text as a *gloss* or an interpolation; for his purpose is to conjecture—not to *prove* what the original text *really was,* but to *conjecture* what it *might, could, would or should have been,* if the critic had done the Bible the honor to be a contributor. That seems to be a bold statement. We digress to give a concrete and up-to-date proof. Many other instances could be cited.

4. *A Digression from Jewish Christology.* Just at present E. S. Buchanan is causing a smile or a frown. It all depends on whether one takes his startling statements as a joke or in all seriousness. The purely textual work that Mr. Buchanan did, before he began to theorize as to what the text *might, could, would or should have been,* if his ideas had been incorporated into the Word of God, was worthy of praise and thanks.[10] But the repute of his purely textual work is cast into a shade by the critic's arbitrary and conceited conclusions. He throws over all manuscripts of the Greek text, Syriac version, and Latin Vulgate simply because he has found a stray reading in an Old Latin text that fits in with his own vagaries in religious thought. We have had enough and more than enough of this arbitrary criticism. We shall instance a few such arbitrary and conceited conclusions.

Be he conscious of it or not, Mr. Buchanan starts out with a prejudice against the necessity of Baptism; and deliberately looks for a text to set his conscience at ease. Mrs. Lewis had discovered an Old Syriac fifth-century MS. which read, in Jo. 3 : 5, "If one be not born *of Spirit and of water,* one cannot enter the Kingdom of God". As Mr. Buchanan said:[11] "That made some of us think." The usual Greek reading is

[9] Mt. 5 : 17.

[10] Cf. Sacred Latin Texts. "The Epistles and Apocalypse from the Codex Harleianus" (Nutt, London, 1912); and "Codex Laudianus", same publisher, 1914.

[11] We rely on Professor Rendel Harris's report of Mr. Buchanan's address, at Union Theological Seminary, Dec., 1914. on "The Search for the Original Words of the Gospel"; cf. "A Modern Religious Autobiography", *Expositor,* Sept., 1915.

of water and the Spirit. Compared with the Sinaitic version, the Greek seems to have the cart before the horse; *water* precedes *Spirit.* Then it occurred to Mr. Buchanan that maybe there never was any cart in the original text; maybe *of water* is a gloss! So it turns out to be. For in one of his Irish MSS., this daring critic has found the reading, " Except a man be born of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God ". And thus Mr. Buchanan has found out the original words of Jo. 3 : 5, by starting to look for what the text *should have been* had he expressed in it his own religious prejudices.

By the same process he has found out that in the passage about " not discerning the Lord's Body ",[12] the phrase " the Lord's Body " does not belong to the original text. Another Irish MS. gives Mr. Buchanan just what he thought the Lord's prayer *should have been*: " Give us to-day for bread the Word of God from Heaven ". And so on, till the end of the chapter. But enough of what Mr. Buchanan thinks the New Testament original text *might, could, would or should have been.*

5. *Back to Jewish Christology.* To the Catholic, who is a textual critic, it is loss of time to conjecture what the original text of Mt. 5 : 17 *might, could, would or should have been,* if written by Rabbi Troki, a Karaite sixteenth-century forbear of our modern higher critic; to the lower or textual critic, the important thing is what the original text actually *was.* The words of our Lord that follow cannot be thus wrenched from the context. True, He did not " come to destroy the law and the prophets ". " I am not come to destroy but to fulfil. For, of a truth, I say to you, till heaven and earth pass, not a jot nor a tittle of the law shall pass till all be fulfilled ".[13]

Jesus did not destroy the law of Moses but was the fulfilment of it. Moses predicted the coming of Jesus the Christ. The rabbi who admits Mt. 5 : 17 as an historical fact should at least give some consideration to

> Jo. 5 : 45-47 : Think not that I will accuse you to the Father. There is one that accuseth you—Moses, in whom ye trust. For, if ye believed in Moses, ye would believe in me; since he wrote of me. But if ye believe not in his writings, how will ye believe in my words?

These words show that Jesus taught the Mosaic writings were prophetic of His own coming as the Messias. The prophecies he has not come to destroy but to fulfil. *Not a yod nor*

[12] I Cor. 11 : 29.

[13] Mt. 5 : 17-18.

a flourish of a letter in the Pentateuch is to pass away; but all will be fulfilled. The phrase "not a jot nor a tittle" means *not a yod nor a flourish of a letter.* The Vulgate has "iota unum aut unus apex". *Iota,* ἰα,τῶ is clearly *Yod,* the smallest letter of the Hebrew alphabet. *Apex,* tittle, is κεραα in the original text—literally *a little horn.* It designated, among Greek grammarians, the accents and diacritical points. To the Hebrew of the Diaspora, κεραία [14] were the characteristic little hooks or flourishes that distinguished certain letters which were otherwise very similar. By such tittles were distinguished *He* from *Heth, Resh* from *Daleth, Beth* from *Kaph,* etc. Our Lord means, then, that not the smallest particle of the law will be unfulfilled; every prophecy will come true; every type of him in the Old Law will have its antitype in the New.

In connexion with Troki's omission of the important part of Mt. 5 : 17, it is interesting to note the Talmudic mutilation of the same text: "I have come not to *diminish from* the Law of Moses, nor yet have I come *to add* to the Law of Moses". And the reference to Jesus's fulfilling the law is significantly omitted.[15]

The Talmud of Jerusalem gives a Gemara or traditional commentary that closely resembles our Lord's expression, "*not a Yod nor a flourish of a letter* shall pass away. It is said that, even if all the men of the world were gathered together in an effort to take away a *Yod* from the law, they would not succeed.[16] And to emphasize the unchangeableness of the Yod, a rabbi said, God had taken it out of Sarah and added it to Hoshea; by this transfer of a Yod, He had changed Sarai to Sarah and Hoshea to Yehoshu'. And as for the change of the tittles, the characteristic twists and flourishes of certain letters —why, the rabbis said, if this rashness were attempted, the whole world would come to an end.

III. Modern Jewish Christologies. Modern Jewish scholars who touch upon Christology at all, show none of the open offensiveness of the Talmud; they generally go the way of one of the modern rationalistic schools of Christian Christology.

[14] Cf. Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon of the N. T., New York, 1892, p. 344.

[15] Shabbat, 116b.

[16] Jerusalem, *Sanhedrim,* p. 20c, referred to by Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,* 5th ed., New York, vol. I, p. 537.

1. *Grätz.* The first Jewish writer who so thoroughly cast off this traditional and Talmudic hostility to the Christ as to show to Jesus some degree of respect was, according to R. Travers Hereford,[17] a German named Grätz—a man after Bauer's own heart. In his "History of the Jews",[18] he gives expression to the highest admiration of Jesus as a man. Only the Jewish elements of the Gospel—the Petrine, in Bauer's nomenclature—are saved from the divisive criticism of this Jewish higher critic. The non-Jewish elements—the Pauline of Bauer—are all eliminated. There remains a jejune character sketch which presents Jesus as an Essene. The Jesus of the original Gospel was a high-minded and saintly reformer, who had no intention to overthrow Judaism but aimed only at the extirpation of existing abuses. Like all reformers, he was maligned and persecuted; this maltreatment culminated in a shameful death. Thereafter his followers evolved the non-Jewish elements of Christianity; and gave to the world the wonder-working of the reformer, his resurrection, his hostility to Judaism, etc. This is simply the Christology of Bauer. It is quite consistent with Judaism, Buddhism, or any other non-Christian belief.

2. *Jost.* Even more fair-minded and unbiased is Jost, in "History of Judaism and its Sects".[19] He lays upon Caiaphas and his fanatic associates the whole blame of the death of Jesus. It was not the Jews who crucified the teacher. Thousands revered him. The chief priests did high-handed violence and failed to give that trial which the law required.

3. *J. H. Weiss.* After the work done by Grätz and Jost, the Jewish Christologist could scarcely fall back upon ancient Talmudic ideas about Jesus. And on this account, J. H. Weiss[20] makes an apology for the Jews that can be understood. The teaching of Jesus was not new. He was put to death not for Essene teachings but for three claims—prophetic power, miracles, and Divine Sonship.

4. *Jacobs.* For twentieth-century Jewish Christologies we naturally look to the *Jewish Encyclopedia.*[21] There we find three articles on Jesus, written from the Jewish standpoint.

[17] Hastings's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* Scribner's, New York, 1909, II, p. 881.

[18] *Geschichte der Juden,* 1856, III, p. 224.

[19] *Geschichte des Judenthums und seinen Sekten,* 1863.

[20] *History of Jewish Tradition,* in Hebrew, 1871.

[21] Funk and Wagnalls, New York, completed, 1906.

The first is by Joseph Jacobs, formerly President of the Jewish Historical Society of England, on "Jesus of Nazareth in History".[22] It contains no vituperation of the Lord but shows the disrespectful attitude of the divisive critic of the New Testament. Father Léonce de Grandmaison, S.J., in his excellent article, "Jésus Christ" contributed to *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*,[23] says that Jacobs and his two fellow contributors on Jesus "show more of critical penetration and an equal respect", if compared to their predecessors in Jewish Christology. The respect Jacobs shows consists in the admission of a phantom Jesus—an historical person with a very minimum of historical reality. And as for "critical penetration" it is as conspicuous for its absence from the article of Jacobs as from the wild theories of W. B. Smith.[24]

The following sentence gives the spirit of Mr. Jacobs:

> Many incidents were *actually invented* (especially in Matthew) "in order that there might be fulfilled" in him prophecies relating to a Messiah of a character quite other than that of which Jesus either claimed or was represented by his disciples to be.

So the respect this article shows is first the admission that Jesus was a good man—"it is probable that he could read"; and secondly the contention that Christian trickery has duped us into belief that Jesus was the Messias and God. "The supernatural in the life of Jesus . . . *is intended* to support these prophecies and the dogmatic positions of Christianity".

5. *Kohler.* The second of these articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* is on "Jesus of Nazareth in Theology", by Kaufmann Kohler, Rabbi Emeritus of Temple Beth-El, New York, and President of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.[25] We note at once the distinction the Encyclopedia makes between the two successive titles. "Jesus of Nazareth in History" is separated from "Jesus of Nazareth in Theology". The reason of the separation is not far to seek; it is the Modernistic distinction between *Jesus of History* and *Jesus of Theology*; the Ritschlian distinction between Jesus *in Himself* and Jesus *in His value* to the Christian conscience.

[22] *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VII, p. 160.

[23] Beauchesne, Paris, 1915; fasc. xi, col. 1365.

[24] Cf. "The Mythic Christ," ECCL. REVIEW, May, 1915; "An American Mythic Christ," ECCL. REVIEW, Sept., 1915.

[25] Cf. op. cit., s. v., "Jesus," vii, p. 167.

Rabbi Kohler shows that respect for the historical Jesus which he finds in his sources, the liberal school of Christology; he strips off everything of the supernatural. The miraculous, prophetic, and all supernatural elements are all branded as accretions from Essene, Mithraic, and other pagan sources. For the value of Jesus to the Christian conscience, Kohler shows the Ritschlian respect. Ritschl or Harnack might have written the following glowing tribute of unstinted praise to the value of Jesus, not as he really was but as the Christian conscience is said to have trumped him up to be:

> A great historic movement of the character and importance of Christianity cannot have arisen without a great historical personality to call it into existence and to give it shape and direction. Jesus of Nazareth had a mission from God; and he must have had the spiritual power and fitness to be chosen for it.[26]

After quoting the above, Hereford says: "That is finely said, and it is with one exception the fullest Jewish recognition of the greatness of Jesus that is known to us".[27] And Fr. de Grandmaison[28] translates the passage as of worth. But be sure to read all of Kohler's article; and the greatness of Jesus will be shorn of all save the greatness of a great and good man of whose life and works very little is known.

6. *Krauss.* The third of these articles is by Dr. Samuel Krauss, Professor of the Normal College, Budapest, Hungary. He writes on "Jesus in Jewish Legend". The legends of the Talmud and later Jewish writings are said to have had a theological background. For instance, "for polemical purposes, it was necessary for the Jews to insist on the illegitimacy of Jesus as against the Davidic descent claimed by the Christian Church".[29] That admission shows the broad-minded spirit of the article.

7. *Montefiore.* The "one exception" of Hereford above quoted is C. G. Montefiore. His praise of Jesus is as fulsome as is that of the late Principal Fairbairn.[30] He esteems Jesus as

> the most important Jew who ever lived, one who exercised a greater influence upon mankind and civilization than any other per-

[26] Op. cit., vii, p. 167. [27] *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* ii, p. 881.
[28] *Dict. de la Foi,* xi, 1365.
[29] Cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vii, p. 170.
[30] Cf. "Another Congregational Christology," ECCL. REVIEW, April, 1915.

son, whether within the Jewish race or without it. . . . A Jew whose life and character have been regarded by almost all the best and wisest people who have read or heard of his actions and his words, as the greatest religious exemplar for every age.[31]

This leader of Liberal Judaism makes Jesus out to have been the authoritative successor of the great prophets of Israel, especially of the pre-exilic prophets Isaias, Amos, and Osee.[32] And yet all this apparent respect and even the veneration and reverence for Jesus, which we cannot recognize but which both Hereford [33] and Father de Grandmaison [34] find in Montefiore, are nothing more than the eschatological Christology of Loisy.[35] From Loisy's contributions to *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religeuse,* Montefiore gulps down avidly dose after dose of lessons on how Paul borrowed from mystery religions the whole scheme of the sacramental life of Christianity and foisted it upon the Judaism of Jesus of Nazareth.[36] In the light of these pagan cults, the whole soteriological theology of Paul becomes clear to Montefiore. Paul was obsessed by the wicked promptings of the heart, the evil impulse, *Yeçer ha-Ra'* of the rabbis, σάρξ of Pauline theology; the good impulse, *Yeçer ha-Tob* of the rabbis, πνεῦμα of Paul, was not real to him. Then, of a sudden from mystery religions he got the idea of the new heart, the new spirit—"how grand it would be if there were a means of becoming really and truly a new creature, of triumphing over sin and the Yetzer ha-Ra and the evil heart once and for all!" [37] This sudden realization later was served up in the legend of the conversion of St. Paul near Damascus.

Such is, according to Montefiore, the pagan origin of all the supernatural elements of Christianity. And he thinks that his own "attitude towards the New Testament, its central hero and his greatest apostle . . . will be the common attitude of Liberal Judaism to-morrow".[38]

WALTER DRUM, S.J.

Woodstock College, Maryland.

[31] Cf. *Jewish Quarterly Review,* 1894, pp. 381 ff.

[32] Cf. *The Synoptic Gospels,* London, 1909, vol. I, p. c.

[33] *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels,* ii, 882. [34] *Dict. de la Foi,* xi, 1365.

[35] Cf. "Christological Errors," ECCL. REVIEW, Dec., 1914, p. 748; "The Eschatological Christ," ECCL. REVIEW, June, 1915, p. 741.

[36] Cf. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul,* Goschen, London, 1914, pp. 221 ff.

[37] Cf. *Judaism and St. Paul,* p. 117.

[38] Cf. op. cit., Prefatory Note.

Criticisms and Notes.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE MORALIS a Joanne Petro Gury, S.J., conscriptum, et ab Antonio Ballerini, ejusdem societatis, annotationibus auctum. Deinde vero ad breviorem formam exaratum atque ad usum Seminariorum hujus regionis accommodatum ab Aloysio Sabetti, S.J., in Collegio Woodstockiensi theologiae moralis olim professore. Editio vicesima secunda, recognita a Timotheo Barrett, S.J. Frederick Pustet & Co., Ratisbonae, Romae, Neo Eboraci, Cincinnati. 1915. Pp. 1159.

For many years the Sabetti's *Compendium Theologiae Moralis* has been a favorite text-book with American students of theology. It took, in most cases, the place of Archbishop Kenrick's admirable manuals. The latter had many points of merit; it was original in form and expression of views—"nullius addictum jurare in verba magistri". It was, moreover, especially adapted to the needs of missionary priests in the United States, and took account of our local circumstances, civil laws, and national sense of independence from many old-world customs. But as our missions were for the most part attended by members of the different religious Orders that had their own seminaries, and frequently directed also the theological education of the secular clergy, the text-books in use in their own communities naturally claimed a certain preference. Gury's manual, in use by the Jesuits and Redemptorists, was accordingly adapted to American conditions, and replaced gradually the scholarly work of Kenrick in the other missionary seminaries.

Both Father Sabetti, the learned Jesuit teacher of moral theology at Woodstock, and Father Konings, the eminent Redemptorist professor in the Novitiate at Ilchester, closely adhered to Gury, the French theologian, whose excellent work had been introduced as a text-book, even before his death in 1866, in nearly every seminary in Europe. Subsequently Ballerini and Palmieri rendered the volume still more popular by their critical and judicious annotations. Gury had of course followed St. Alphonsus, and St. Alphonsus had followed the Jesuit Busenbaum, so that the sons of St. Ignatius and those of St. Liguori drew from a common treasury, each in turn perfecting the other's work. The Sulpician Fathers, too, found an admirable representative of both schools in the work of Father Adolph Tanquerey, who adapted his *Synopsis* to the special use of American students.

Of late years the consistent use of any one text-book in moral theology has been rendered difficult by a continuous change of legis-

lation in the field of practical theology. Authors who wished to bring their works up to date were kept busy recasting the texts. In this respect Father Barrett has had no easy task in editing the successive issues of Father Sabetti's *Compendium* since the death of the latter in 1898. If we compare the seventeenth edition, issued by Father Barrett in 1906, with the present, we find a considerable change. The whole volume has been carefully gone over page by page, and corrections and additions are noted everywhere up to the date when the present volume was ready for press.

The most marked changes are of course those that embody the newest legislation. Such are the "Tractatus de Matrimonio", particularly the "Impedimenta Disparitatis Cultus" and "Clandestinitatis". In the latter tract the seven lines of the original text of P. Gury have been expanded to over nine pages. Similar changes occur in the Tract "De Lege Ecclesiastica", dealing with the functions of the Sacred Congregations as modified by the Apostolic Constitution *Sapienti consilio*; also in the chapters on the obligations of the ecclesiastical state, the recitation of the Divine Office, following the Constitution *Divino afflatu,* etc. Whilst the "Facultates Episcoporum" at the end of the book still refer to the older Formulae "Ordinariae et Extraordinariae", altered of recent years, this hardly affects former decisions based on the general practice, as well as on the principles of moral theology. One of the most important improvements of the present volume is the index, which is much fuller and more directive than that of former editions. Anyone who makes use of his text-book of moral theology knows what an advantage this is to the busy student and missionary priest. The publishers have not failed to do their share in improving the typography and general form of the manual by an entirely new letterpress, with italics and other devices that facilitate the general as well as the class use of the book. As far as can be expected, the *Compendium* answers the special needs of American students and priests, and will be welcomed by the clergy throughout the States.

THE LORD MY LIGHT. By Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Burns & Oates, London; B. Herder, St. Louis. Pp. 323.

Under the new title of *The Lord My Light* Father Rickaby republishes the two series of Oxford and Cambridge Conferences delivered by him to the Catholic undergraduates of the two English universities between 1897 and 1901. In their present form these addresses are intended for the average educated Catholic; hence they are somewhat modified to suit non-academic readers. They instruct the layman on points of theology that he ought to know. There

are fifty conferences, on Catholic ethics, history, liturgy, and the practical questions that confront the modern apologist. The volume is beautifully printed and will serve the purpose of helping non-Catholic friends to obtain a clearer knowledge and appreciation of our holy faith.

A PRIMER OF PEACE AND WAR. The Principles of International Morality. Edited for the Catholic Social Guild by Charles Plater, S.J., M.A. P. S. King & Co., London; P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1915. Pp. xi—282.

THE "SUMMA THEOLOGICA" OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Part II (First Part). Third Number (QQ. xc–cxiv). Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Benziger Bros., New York. 1915. Pp. 538.

The local position given to these two works on the present page may be taken to suggest the philosophical interconnexion of their respective contents. The principles of law in general expounded in the second book support the superstructure of international law built up in the first book. Obviously the science of international law is but the application of general legal science to the interrelations of the various nations and peoples that constitute mankind.

About a year or more ago a review appeared in these pages of Mgr. Parkinson's *Primer of Social Science,* a small volume wherein are successfully summed up the leading facts and inferences regarding the structure and economic relations of society. In the present "primer" we find an equally successful digest of the juridic interrelations of States in times of peace and of war. International morality and jurisprudence is the subject-matter, the *objectum materiale,* which contains under its wide extension the existence and nature of the reciprocal rights and duties of organized States: the ethics, true and false, of war; the Catholic doctrine of war, its theory and historical development, compared with adverse teachings on the same subject; lastly the aims and methods, wrong and right, of attaining and maintaining peace. Under these headings the authors have condensed a considerable wealth of information as interesting and valuable as it is practical and timely. The information is partly abstract and speculative, partly concrete, positive and practical. The former elements flow naturally and logically from the fundamental conceptions of law which St. Thomas unfolds in the *quaestiones de lege.* Law is primarily the mind and will of the Creator regulative of the created order. From this, the eternal law, emanates the natural law which, becoming further developed and determined by human legislators, is called positive law. Nations, sovereign states,

are as much subject to the law of nature and need positive laws to adjust and govern their interrelations as individual human beings. Out of these bodies of law, natural and positive, spring the mutual rights and duties of nations. Some of these rights and duties concern justice, others charity (*mirabile dictu!*); some relate to peace, and others to war. War under certain limitations is ethically right. This the authors establish from divine authority as well as from the inferences of reason. The history of the doctrine and the arguments are developed somewhat *in extenso*. The various efforts proposed for the establishment of peace amongst nations are also discussed and evaluated. The bibliography appended is copious and of exceptional service, since it not only directs the reader to sources of additional information, but in at least many cases indicates the viewpoint and merits of the works mentioned. The other additions relating to the Holy See and the War are also of timely interest. The *Primer* is, therefore, indeed a *multum in parvo*. Within its relatively small compass it contains an admirable exposition of the fundamental truths that condition the peace of nations. Departure from these fundamental truths has resulted in the present world cataclysm, and return to them can alone bring about "the tranquillity of order".

Regarding the volume wherein St. Thomas has elaborated the fundamentals of law, it need only be said that the translation made by the English Dominicans is in this case, as it has been in the rendering of the preceding volumes, as nearly worthy of the original as may reasonably be looked for, though in this volume, as in its predecessors, one cannot get away from the wish that the translators had not so rigidly determined to abstain from all annotating.

CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC RELIGION. By James Linden, S.J. B. Herder: St. Louis, Mo. 1915. Pp. 161.

In 1900, Herder of St. Louis published a "Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, prepared by a Jesuit Missionary of St. Ignatius College". As a text-book for Catholic schools it had the special endorsement of the Archbishops of St. Louis and Chicago. This gave it sufficient authority to supplant, where the Ordinary deemed it proper, the older Baltimore Catechism, which was made in a manner obligatory for the parish schools in the United States. The last Plenary Council (III, Tit. VII, cap. II, n. 219) had prescribed, "Hoc catechismo in lucem edito quamprimum uti teneantur omnes curam animarum habentes et praeceptores tam religiosi quam laici". The "teneantur" seemed to allow the substitution of another catechism in exceptional cases; but for the rest the principle of uni-

formity was to prevail over that of individual excellence. Everybody understood the difficulty of providing an absolutely faultless text-book for children, and incidental defects might be covered by "Explanations", such as Father Kinkead's, or by glossaries which served as interpretations of stereotyped terms for which a suitable synonym could not be found. Even our "Jesuit Missionary" found it necessary to add to his brief catechism of 83 pages a "vocabulary". Meanwhile similar attempts were made to supplement the Baltimore Catechism, and all along the "Catechism Question" has remained open for discussion.

The truth is that no Catechism can absolutely satisfy all the demands made upon a primary text-book of religion. The teaching of that branch of human knowledge which deals with things divine, demands adaptation to the individual child's mental, moral, and even physical capacities; and these capacities are in an indefinite or growing condition. Immature judgment cannot be supplied by formulae; it requires a mental concept gained by experience of which the child is as yet incapable. Catholic instinct will do much, but a chief element in the imparting of religious truths is the power of the teacher to impress her or his convictions upon the child's mind. In other words, the child is learning to understand "by proxy", and the impressions it gets turn gradually into the convictions of the riper mind, and of experience which confirms their reasonableness. It would therefore be rational, as some men maintain, to wait for the full development of the reasoning faculties before teaching the child religion, if it were not that the child on the one hand needs religion before it can reason upon it, and on the other that religion deals with facts of the supernatural order which, while resting upon a reasonable basis, or upon sufficient motives of credibility, do not depend upon human reason for their demonstrability. The great factor therefore in the teaching of religion is not so much the perfect formula presented by the text-book from which the child memorizes, but the perfection of the teacher. His, or better (in the case of very young children) *her* moral, intellectual and physical gifts are the primary influence that acts upon the child's intelligence, by which it apprehends the terms of religious truth. The infant in the mother's arms understands the terms of its parent's will, and the mysteries of its parent's affection, long before it has mastered the meaning or sounds of conventional language. Hence the great factor in the matter of teaching the Catechism in our parish and Sunday schools is the personality of the teacher. A pastor who carefully selects the Brother or Sister or the girl who helps in the religious instruction classes on Sundays, does more by far for the upbuilding of religion in his parish than the priest who worries about

the defects of a text-book or expects that its perfection will cure the dullness and ignorance of his young flock.

Nevertheless there are features of importance that may not be neglected in the matter of books placed in the hands of children and of teachers. One may help the intelligence, the memory, and the good-will of the child alike by the presentation of forms. We believe in the teaching of children by illustration, as far as is possible. Pictures attract and they interpret. But, to do both, they need to be very carefully chosen; and on the whole the choice of proper illustrations for the purpose of teaching religion is as difficult as is the choice of a perfect text-book. Father Linden's Catechisms (there are several for the different grades and they are in two languages—English and German) are the outcome of careful study, in full view of all the difficulties mooted during the last thirty years. He has not only had the advantage of personal experience as a teacher, but of the discussions carried on by men like the late Father Faerber, who expended the best efforts of a lifetime on the subject of determining the proper writing of a Catechism for American children. The Jesuits moreover of other countries, notably of Germany (Deharbe's), have given valuable object-lessons in this field, and Blessed Canisius is still considered the father of modern Catechetics. If we were to single out any excellence in particular by which Father Linden's Catechisms claim our attention, it would be that he observes a proper mean between the two extreme theories that a child must understand everything it gets into its mind, and the other that he must learn everything by memory, irrespective of the intelligence which makes him appreciate the sense or reason of the thing he learns. There are things to be memorized absolutely; and there are others that may be explained merely in terms suitable to childish understanding. Father Linden attends to both.

The ordinary and logical division of the matter of Christian doctrine into the topics of Faith, or what is to be believed, topics of Command, or what is to be done, and topics of Helps, or the means of which we must avail ourselves to attain our last end so as to make our faith and observance effective, is preceded by the usual Catholic prayers and spiritual exercises whereby a habit of Christian life is generated, such as is essential for the realization and full appreciation of the Catholic truth. The Appendix gives information about the books of the Bible, Devotions for Confession and Mass, and a brief rule of life.

In the arrangement of the customary questions and answers, Father Linden emphasizes certain matter that is to be often repeated, so as to lodge it permanently in the memory. Explanations are given in notes, so as to serve either the teacher for wider illustration or to

help the understanding of the child according to its need without for the moment overcrowding the imagination. What the author calls "Application" is not intended to be memorized by the children, but serves to appeal to the heart which, as every teacher knows, is the more important faculty of the child's soul, and to a great extent illumines its mind. The use of Scripture texts throughout is of the highest value, inasmuch as it makes the Bible the proper adjunct to Tradition in the matter of revealed religion.

LESSONS IN SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY. By Michael W. Shallo, S.J., Professor of Philosophy, University of Santa Clara, Calif. Peter Reilly, Philadelphia; Hirschfeld Bros., Ltd., London. 1915. Pp. 398.

BREVIS CURSUS PHILOSOPHIAE juxta Systema Sti Thomae Aquinatis, ad usum Juvenum Studiosorum per Quaesita et Responsa expositus. Auctore Antonio Lechert, M.D.A., Sac. Theol. et Jur. Utr. Doc. Vol. III: Ethica: Philosophia Moralis, pp. 346. Desclee & Socii, Romae; (apud Very Rev. A. Lechert, M.D.A., 922 Girard St., Brookland, D. C.) 1915.

Some, and they are experts, hold that Scholastic Philosophy is a relatively easy department of knowledge to master. The chief difficulty consists in getting the beginner to look at it rightly. Perhaps this is true. Nevertheless, "the chief difficulty" *in casu* remains, and those masters in the craft deserve well of the republic of thought who succeed in somehow lessening "the chief difficulty" for the apprentices. One way of doing this is to convert Scholasticism into the vernacular. Another is to simplify the method and style of the Latin manual. Examples of these two attempts at facilitation are found in the books before us. The *Lessons in Scholastic Philosophy* were written for the use of the author's pupils in the University of Santa Clara, California. Originally the lessons were arranged in a series of small volumes, each for a respective branch of philosophy. Subsequently these were bound together in a single, though not continuously paginated, volume. A number of copies of the work passed out beyond the author's college, and were appreciated by those into whose hands the book chanced to fall. The appreciation probably developed into a demand to which the supply is now furnished by the present issue—a reprint with consecutive paging. An index has been added, but unfortunately no table of contents is given. The lack will doubtless be made good in a future reprint. If the prospective edition contained a section on Ethics and a brief outline of the History of Philosophy, the manual would then be relatively complete. The additions would not necessarily render the volume too

cumbersome, at least if a lighter weight of paper were to be employed.

As regards the merits of the work they are chiefly these: while relatively comprehensive, it is sufficiently succinct; brief, it is not obscure; adhering quite closely to a Latin text-book—indeed one can easily discern the individual Latin manual which the rendering follows—it is nevertheless substantially good readable English. It is no translation, nor is it a vernacular dilution. It renders Scholastic Philosophy into a form which conveys the strength and definiteness of the Latin through a medium with which our average youth will always be best acquainted. It therefore does really facilitate the work of the seminarist; it helps to remove "the chief difficulty", while students unacquainted with Latin—institutions, too, in which Latin cannot well be made a vehicle of instruction—will find the book an excellent *introduction* to sound Catholic Philosophy. We emphasize introduction, since the work is meant to be elementary and should be supplemented for advanced students by other reading.

By an unfortunate typographical error on line 27 of page 273, *intrinsic* has slipped in for *extrinsic*.

Of the *Brevis Cursus,* in title above, suffice it to say that the volume mentioned completes a work the preceding portions whereof were strongly recommended in the September number of the REVIEW. There are of course many similar Latin manuals already in the hands of students. Some of them, particularly Fr. Hickey's *Summula,* have notable excellences in their favor. The special feature of Fr. Lechert's work is the catechetical method, which no doubt facilitates the labor of the student—perhaps, too, of the teacher. It certainly helps to lessen "the chief difficulty".

WHAT SHOULD I BELIEVE? An Inquiry into the Nature, Grounds and Value of the Faiths of Science, Society, Morals, and Religion. By George Trumbull Ladd, LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Pp. 275.

Nothing more pathetic can be conceived than the titanic efforts of modern philosophy to invest human life with a profound, soul-stirring interest, to give it a commanding, absorbing purpose, and to crown it with a transcending, overshadowing value. It is almost pitiful to see philosophers that have turned their backs scornfully on the traditional wisdom of the past ages, groping helplessly and hopelessly for something that may give an aim and content to human existence and a meaning to the puzzling events that happen around us. They sink the plummet of speculation everywhere; but their unfortunate philosophy nowhere touches bed-rock; they always find themselves building on quicksand, which, even on cursory examina-

tion, proves an unreliable foundation for a strong philosophical superstructure. Their speculative outlook on the problems of life and the world is much what the predicament of an astronomer would be who is confronted, not by a system of fixed stars, but by a capricious sputter of shooting meteors.

A deep sympathy creeps into one's mind while perusing the pages of Professor Ladd's fascinating volume, for he also belongs to that category of philosophers who, in spite of magnificent endeavors and superb partial success, fail to find the fixed points to which they might attach the floating, glittering web of their speculation. He has pushed his inquiry as far as his initial principles warrant; but he has wound up in a blind alley. His system does not satisfy the inquiring mind; where we expect a final answer, we find only an interrogation mark. Yet there is much that is beautiful and inspiring in this book, that no one could read without pleasure and profit. Nor is it merely the graceful, symmetrical diction which enchants the ear and captivates the attention; the matter itself is thought-provoking and valuable for its subtle suggestiveness. The tone is reverent and bespeaks a great appreciation of the tremendous issues of life. Through the pages run a seriousness of purpose and an honest desire for the truth which must win the respect of the most determined opponent.

With the fundamental assumption of the author we are bound to disagree most thoroughly. What to him is matter of belief, to us is an object of demonstration. In his world-view faith has a different function than in ours. With him it constitutes the entrance into the suprasensible world, the bridge into the realm of metaphysics. Thus he sets forth its meaning and scope: "We shall not be far from the truth, then, if we describe the nature and province of belief somewhat as follows. The world of sense and of forms and laws which the intellect constructs on a basis of sensuous perception, is underlain and interpenetrated and overtopped by another sort of world. In this world those sentiments and practical demands of the mind that concern the invisible and the ideal have their peculiar influence. It is the world of the things believed in rather than unknown as is the world of the things of sense. Its causes lie, often very obscure and generally deeply hidden, in the constitution of the individual and of the race. The forms, the beliefs themselves, are more akin to instinct and to intuition than to scientific formulas" (p. 41). We are here in the presence of two fatal misconceptions which completely alter and destroy the nature of genuine belief; first, that belief is determined mainly by subjective elements which refuse to be analyzed and elude argument; second, that its object is the suprasensible, which, however, is accessible to our knowledge by the proper

application of the principle of causality. It is the old Kantian error, which here, as in many modern systems, crops up and vitiates the whole trend of reasoning. If that, however, were the true character of belief, there would be no rational sanction for our knowledge; all science would ultimately be based on belief, on some blind, irresistible impulse, which to distrust would be supreme folly, yet which could not be justified by reason. The author admits this conclusion and is satisfied with this condition of things. But such a position is untenable; for the human mind will examine the grounds of its beliefs, and, if it finds them inadequate, it will reject the beliefs based on them. We demand a rational basis for faith; for only such a faith will endure when the sharp light of reflexion is turned upon it.

And thus it is that Professor Ladd's system furnishes no sound foundation for the faiths of Morality and Religion. Moreover, the contents of such beliefs would be scant and meagre, as they take no account whatsoever of the vast treasures of Revelation. There is only one approach to the fundamental truths of Ethics and Religion; and that is by reason. Faith is of a different and higher order; it is grafted on reason, but it does not supersede reason. C. B.

THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PARISH SCHOOLS of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, for the Years ending 30 June, 1914 and 1915. American Ecclesiastical Review (Dolphin Press), Philadelphia. 1915. Pp. 170.

Two leading features mark this latest Report by the Superintendent of the Philadelphia Parish Schools. The first is the statistical analysis of what is being done by the Catholic authorities and the teaching bodies in the Philadelphia Archdiocese for the promotion of primary and secondary education. This analysis is all the more valuable because it affords one a view of the relative position the parish schools hold toward the public schools in the same districts. In the City of Philadelphia the proportion of Catholic school attendance is that of six to twenty, that is to say nearly one-third of all the children of school age within the limits of the municipality are receiving a Catholic education in our elementary schools. Surely that fact gives excellent promise of moral and religious influence in a great commercial centre of over a million and a half inhabitants. This result has been accomplished by steady progress through zealous and intelligent direction. The scholastic organism is complete. It begins with the kindergarten, covers eight grades on lines parallel with the public school system, and terminates with two well equipped

high schools, for boys and girls respectively. The latter show a regular attendance of between six and eight hundred pupils each. Besides this there are the supplementary aids of night schools conducted by the Jesuit Fathers, and colleges and academies. The results in the country districts are naturally less remarkable; withal they too show a steady progress in the various sections under Catholic influence.

All this has been done within the last twenty years, under not altogether favoring conditions. When Catholic consciousness began to awaken to the fact that without the parish school there would be no consistent support and growth in Catholicity, if the stream of immigrants should cease from countries where the faith was being cherished, the dormant bigotry of Protestantism began to raise its head and inaugurated a policy of determined opposition. Attempts were made at once to set up the public schools as a standard by which to measure loyal citizenship. The civil authorities, hitherto disposed to leave private schools undisturbed, or even to grant them certain privileges while they claimed to be merely Protestant, now became exclusive, if not antagonistic to parish or church schools. In proportion as these grew in strength, the opposition seemed to be withdrawn; in reality it only changed its tactics. The State was made to assume the patronage of education under the pretext that it must guard the dignity of its citizenship. This sentiment is still in its evolutionary stage, but its unmistakable aim is to impede, if not to destroy, Catholic influence in education by the withdrawal of privileges, opportunities, and even common rights. It is important therefore that Catholics should assert themselves, especially by effective support of a system of education which respects the parental authority over the child's training in all that concerns its higher life. The habitual religious influence of the school is essential to the formation of an upright and moral character, without which loyal citizenship is impossible.

It is the lucid exposition of this point which constitutes the second characteristic feature of the present Report. In an admirably clear and convincing manner Monsignor McDevitt sets forth the actual relations of State authority toward education as secondary and supplementary only to that of the parent. To show that this viewpoint is not a matter of merely personal, or what might be called sectarian, bias, he appeals to one of the earliest and best representatives of our public school system. In a summary of the fundamental elements of the school laws of the Old Colony of Massachusetts, in 1642 and 1647, George H. Martin, author of *Evolution of the Massachusetts Public School System,* states the following principles:

1. The universal education of youth is essential to the well-being of the State.
2. The obligation to furnish this education rests primarily upon the parent.
3. The State has a right to enforce this obligation.
4. The State may fix a standard which shall determine the kind of education and the minimum amount.
5. Public money raised by general tax may be used to provide such education as the State requires. The tax may be general though the school attendance is not.
6. Education higher than the rudiments may be supplied by the State.

It is needless to say that Catholics would be perfectly willing to subscribe to these principles, so long as the State leaves them unhampered in their efforts to add to this requisite of education the religious factor, which is essential to its completion. The absolute exclusion of all religious teaching from the school curriculum, organized and supported by the civil government, makes it impossible for conscientious Catholic parents to allow their children to patronize the public school as it is. As taxpayers we want schools that answer our needs. The actual public school supported by the common taxes satisfies those only who hold that religion need not be part of education. Such schools serve a party, not the entire community. The question of how both parties can be served is amply answered by the school systems in some States in Europe.

Although we are wronged therefore in not receiving in the present school plan a share of our tax payments, and although we are being deprived of the opportunity of using the public school for our children, we accept the condition, because it expresses the will of the majority. At the same time we organize our own private schools at our own expense and without interfering with the rights of others. Mgr. McDevitt discusses the present attitude of the State toward Catholic or private schools; and he sounds a note of warning that it is well to heed, especially by those in responsible authority. The gist of the warning is contained in the last two propositions, which sum up the educational situation in the United States at the present time: "The State has broadened the scope of its school system and placed upon it responsibilities which were thought to belong wholly to the home." "The tendency of the State is to widen its authority in education, and to minimize that freedom which private schools have always enjoyed."

What Mgr. McDevitt has further to say on the subject deserves to be read and pondered by every parish priest and educator in the land. It should be especially impressed upon the minds of our young candidates of theology in the seminaries. Indeed it would be a strange neglect of opportunities to confine the reading of our theological students to the limited number of text-books which take little or no account of the present-day conflicts and needs of the Catholic

Church. Not only should the theological libraries of every seminary be provided with full sets of these model annual reports, but the students should be directed to make the reading and analysis of them a part of their preparation for the mission. The same may be said of the publications of the Catholic Educational Association, a recent number of which also contains the substance of Mgr. McDevitt's plea as it was delivered at the last convention of that organization.

The present Report is dedicated to His Grace the Archbishop of Philadelphia, who has done much to foster the zeal for elementary education in the diocese, and whose golden jubilee as a priest gives suitable occasion for the expression of congratulations on the part of the teachers and pupils of the parish schools of the Archdiocese.

THE WILL IN ETHICS. By Theophilus B. Stork. Boston: Sherman, French & Co., 1915. Pp. 203.

The relation of the individual to the Universal Will—including in the capitalized term not only God, the Divine Will, but the totality of beings that have terminated the creative *Fiat*—is of course the object sphere of all philosophy. Viewed in this vast amplitude it forms the ground plan of the greatest philosophical master work ever constructed by the human mind, the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. To many, including possibly the author of the volume before us, this may look like a wildly exaggerated statement. None the less, it is here made with full deliberation and, were this the place and time, might be easily and abundantly substantiated. If we restrict the relation of the individual will to the Universal, that is, the Divine Will, as such, it becomes the object sphere both of moral and religious philosophy. It is unfortunate that in the book under notice this distinction of the Universal Will as Divine, and hence creative, over against the totality of creatures wherein the Divine Will ever energizes without becoming therewith identified, and with which the individual will comes into ceaseless contact and often into conflict—is not made and kept clear.

As a consequence of this failure to distinguish explicitly between the Universal Will as specifically Divine, and the influence of that Will as manifested in creation, there results no little confusion in the definition of the particular, that is, the human will. "The particular will," we read, "'man's will, is the man, his whole intellectual and emotional capacity, made up of his tasks, his appetites, passions, knowledge, habits, his relations with all that surrounds him. In other words, the will is the man; and not the man separated, isolated from all about him, but the man as part of the whole, with

a place and relation to the universe. The particular will is part(?) of the Universal Will, not to be understood or treated as separate, but only as part of the Universal. The Universal Will manifests itself through the many particular wills that go to make it up" (p. iv). How this interblending of the particular will with the Universal Will can be effected without identifying one with the other, the author admits to be difficult to understand. This, however, is the case only in relation to intellect or reason, for "reason cannot deal with reality in all its truth. Feeling, however, our own feeling —which is reality(?)—gives us a glimpse of this profound and wondrous truth that the identity of the particular is bound up with its relations to the Universal Will; as it recognizes this relationship, it gains a power, and a joy impossible to it separate and isolated, opposed to the Universal. For in feeling which is my reality(!), I never realize my entire self, my identity as a particular will on the emotional side, except as I participate in the great Universal feeling: so alone do I become truly myself" (ib.). For the purposes of rhetoric no doubt this latitudinous description of man's will, and the identification of "feeling" with "reality", might be tolerated: but when employed as concepts explanatory of ethical and philosophical relations, they can only beget confusion. And indeed the reader has frequently to be on his guard lest he lose himself hopelessly in the darkness of Pantheism. For instance, St. Paul's, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me", is said to be "translated by the Indian Vedantists [not Vedentists] into 'Not a part, not a mode of that, but identically that, that Absolute Spirit of the world'," meaning (as Mr. Stork takes it) "that thus the individual becomes part of the Universal" (p. 132). The reviewer must not be understood as accusing the author of sheer, bald pantheism, but only as observing that very many of his statements are in themselves pantheistic, and demand constant balancing with some other occasional expressions to ensure the author's theism—the insurance itself being in the long run sub-standard!

If, however, one pretermit the very great confusion of ideas, or perhaps of expression (for it may be presumed the author's thought is clearer to himself than he has succeeded in conveying it to his readers), the book on the whole contains a great deal of substantial truth, an abundance of fertile ideas and illuminating suggestions. Aside from its many philosophical inaccuracies, it is often stimulating and pleasant reading. The dominating idea is that man's will, the particular will, is good when it harmonizes with the Universal Will (which from the capitals we presume is simply and plainly God's, the Creative Will). To be thus in harmony, the individual's will must likewise be in accord with the manifestations of

the Universal Will in man's material and social surroundings. From all this harmonization *results* happiness—the author seems to *identify* the two—in the present life, and Heaven in the life to come. From the opposite proceed sin, sorrow, and, ultimately, Hell.

Obviously, these ideas are not at all original. They are as old as the oldest traditional philosophy—of which philosophy, by the way, the author is apparently quite unaware or totally oblivious. Nevertheless, in the forms in which these ancient thoughts are presented in the *Will in Ethics,* clad as the truisms are in pleasing figures and comparisons, they owe not a little of what seems freshness, and certainly *is* permanent interest, to costumes that are for the most part bright and becoming.

THE GODDESS OF GHOSTS. By O. O. Martindale, S.J. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York. 1915. Pp. xi—219.

The title of this dainty-appearing little volume is taken from the last but one of the nine allegories of which it is strangely compiled. For want of a better name they are here called allegories. It hardly signifies that their author calls them "stories" in his preface, seeing that, with all his deftness in the use of language, he avows a deliberate satisfaction in his avoidance of "plain diction". Whether the reader will be equally well satisfied is another matter. Not that the little book is dull at all. Quite the reverse; it is simply overladen with fancies that break through language and escape. Three parts of the book are Grecian in turn of thought and expression, though the vocabulary is English, even if the idiom is archaic often. Grecian, too, are the scenes and topics for the most part, and the characters Greek to the very life. Seen from this viewpoint, the book is an exceedingly clever piece of composition. So far so good; but why leave the point of the lesson so very vague? By striving to be brief, it was anciently said, one is in danger of becoming obscure. Nor is this the only tantalizing feature of the elusive and disconnected parts of the book. Well understood, there is many a good lesson in it, besides its several passages of rare beauty and its classical scholarship. The author has elsewhere shown that he can send his message home true, without the fantastic windings and twistings that here make one doubt whether the arrow ever does hit or where it is meant to hit. G. K. Chesterton, in a somewhat similar mood, seeming to strive more for his own edification and amusement than his readers', has given us such volumes as *The Ball and the Cross* and *Manalive.*

The themes have to do with the great world questions, the riddles of life round which the Greek poets and dramatists shaped their wonderful mythologies and tragedies. They could not see back of

the mystery of it all, because their pagan gaze was turned in the wrong direction, toward the Olympian Zeus instead of to the God of the Christians. The mysteriousness of these world-old problems disappears under the light of eternity. Fullness of life is attained only through Communion with the "Word made Flesh". Veiled under Father Martindale's stories this truth is discernible.

Literary Chat.

The literary output of the publishing agency of the Volksverein in M. Gladbach has suffered no appreciable diminution through the war. A number of publications, bearing on topics connected with the great world struggle, have recently come forth from its press. Those of the publications that have fallen under our observation are very wholesome in tone and remarkably free from any note of aggressiveness. They deal with their subject-matter in a calm, objective manner, which is very creditable to their respective authors. Under the general title *Vaterland*, J. Mumbauer presents a collection of essays on such interesting topics as State, People, Race, Nation. The present European entanglement throws a new light on these concepts, which in consequence of strange realignments of racial and national groupings will have to undergo some modifications. The analysis is very careful and based on an extensive historical knowledge. Though quite apparent, the patriotic undertone running through these considerations is not offensive. (*Vaterland! Gedanken eines katholischen Deutschen über Volk, Staat, Rasse und Nation.*)

The student of modern ecclesiastical history of the close of the last century must take account of the great and distinct failure of the openly defiant effort made by the political rulers in Germany to crush the Catholic Church in that country. The central figure in this struggle, known as the "Kulturkampf", was Prince Bismarck. A Catholic appreciation of the character of this daring statesman, who found his iron forces shattered by the resistance of the Old Church, is an interesting addition to the literature of the day, especially now when German national unity is, as it were, on trial in the midst of a great war that arrays the powers of practically the entire European continent against it. Dr. Martin Spahn, the biographer of Leo XIII and a noted writer on economics and political ethics, has published a volume under the title *Bismarck*, which reached a second edition immediately after its appearance. It furnishes most interesting information not only regarding the central hero of the struggle and his immediate surroundings, but also on the great Catholic leaders who shared in the campaign. That the book deals with its subject impartially is evident from the way in which the author views the policy of Pope Leo and his intermediary Cardinal Galimberti. No doubt the volume will be translated. Meanwhile it helps us to know that the Catholics in Germany are not forgetful of history, and from their present attitude we may infer to some extent what is to be expected from them after the present struggle in Europe has ceased, since there will doubtless have to be some settlement affecting the Catholic Church. (Volksverein, Munchen-Gladbach, Germany.)

In connexion with the war, the Pope's peace mission and his position in international law have become matters of frequent discussion. Rather hazy notions, however, exist on this question. Dr. H. Wehberg, an authority on international law, furnishes reliable and accurate information concerning this much-debated point (*Das Papstum und der Weltfriede.* M. Gladbach.). The historical development of the Pope's unique position is traced, and all the legal subtleties arising from his relations to the various governments of the world are fully and ably discussed.

The christianizing of the world by the heroic efforts of Catholic and Protestant missionaries has almost come to a standstill on account of the world war. In consequence of the mobilization of so many nations the supply of missionaries has been cut short and the financial support of the foreign missions has ceased almost entirely; yet, the moral effect of this sad conflict among Christian nations is even more disastrous. The lessons to be drawn from this deplorable situation and the means by which its evils can be lessened are set forth neatly and appealingly by Dr. Schmidlin in a very readable and instructive brochure (*Die christliche Weltmission im Weltkrieg.* M. Gladbach.).

Both parties in the giant conflict that rends Europe are bidding for the moral support of the neutral nations. Each of the combatants pleads for the justice of his cause—let us charitably suppose, according to his light and without deliberate malice. Two volumes are before us arguing the French side (Chanoine S. Coubé, *Nos Alliés du Ciel,* P. Lethielleux; Abbé M. Gorse, *Echoes de Guerre,* P. Téqui). No doubt some of the stronger statements must be judiciously discounted. The colors in which the national virtues are depicted may be somewhat toned down, and the shadows which crowd the picture of the enemy's vices could without any loss to truth be somewhat lightened. Yet much can be learned from these pages, aglow with the purest and loftiest patriotism and bright with many glimpses of profound religious sentiment. No student of history would wish to see France downtrodden and ruthlessly humbled under the heel of a conqueror.

Sir Christopher Leighton, by Mrs. Longworth Storer, is a sort of autobiographical sketch in which the author does not so much give an account of life data as rather of certain experiences carrying with them a moral. This moral is consistently woven into the story, and tends to oppose the gospel of agnosticism and religious negation. It explains many things in Catholic life which are at first sight a puzzle to the ordinary religious mind that observes the life in Catholic countries and draws his conclusions from what he deems practical observation. The novel has an introduction by Cardinal Gibbons, to whom it is dedicated, and who commends it to the general reader as a book which "squarely discredits the religion of the future so called". (B. Herder.)

The accomplished editor of the *Catholic Citizen* knows what kind of books people need, what they want when they see the "good thing". Moreover, he knows just as well what to write and how to have it made up into a book. The clergy have doubtless found this out and proved it by experience when they used and spread abroad that pretty as well as practical little volume, *The New Laity and the Old Standards.*

The latest emanation from Mr. Desmond's versatile pen is the *Glad Hand and Other Grips on Life* (McClurg & Co., Chicago). Like the *New Laity,* the booklet is full of pithy paragraphs on the things that punctuate life. The topics are of the Mind Serene, the Clearer Vision, the Helpful Spirit—just to mention three out of the total nine chapters.

Pithy we have called these paragraphs rather than pungent; though the pungency is there, too; enough of it to strengthen the pith, and season the meat. Epigrammatic wisdom abounds; story and incident lend vividness. Above all, there is everywhere the kindly spirit, encouragement, and helpfulness.

> "Words of frank cheer, glances of friendly eyes,
> Love's smallest coin, yet which to some
> May give the morsel that may keep alive
> A starving heart and teach it to behold
> Some glimpse of God, where all before was cold."

Those who have been reading *Pollyanna,* and have learnt how "to play the glad game"—as well as those who haven't made acquaintance with Miss Porter's charming story, but know "the game" and play it in virtue of their own good nature or the energies of a spiritualized life—will find *The Glad Hand* a help in "the game". Moreover, the hand is comely, it wears a befitting glove, and when you are looking for a token of a Christmas "grip", just try Mr. Desmond's booklets. What's not least, you'll find them within your pecuniary limitations.

It is a very great pity that Mrs. Trask does not see as accurately or as broadly as she feels keenly and writes glowingly. There is much warmth and no less charm of form and color in her recent little volume, *The Mighty and the Lowly.* (The Macmillan Co.) It exhibits on the whole a beautiful picture of Christ as the typical man, to whom mightiness and lowliness as measured by the world's standards have no concern. The gentle, kindly, just, loving are His blessed friends, irrespective of their earthly position. Unhappily, "over His love-compelling face, the dogmatic Church has woven a sacerdotal veil, bossed with jewels, overlaid with mystic symbols and broidered with many-colored threads—green (!) for Advent [a case of color-blindness], purple for passion, black for Golgotha, and spotless white for Easter day" (p. 2). It is really sad that the truth and beauty conveyed to the intelligent observer by these "mystic symbols" are unseen by Mrs. Trask.

One feels, however, more than sad—might we say "mad"?—when he is told that "the Catholic Church has taken the warm tide of humanity from His [Christ's] veins and enshrined Him in a sacred, guarded tabernacle too high for men to reach; all-powerful, she has kept the multitude kneeling upon the pavement at His feet, whilst the commanding cry of sacerdotal (!) priests has echoed through the vaulted aisles of beauty-stored cathedrals: 'Behold Jesus, the very God of very God—this and this alone is He!'" (p. 8) *Risum? Non, sed iram teneatis amici.* Hasn't Mrs. Trask an intelligent Catholic friend who might take her to Mass of a Sunday—the children's Mass—and tell her in advance the meaning of Jesus coming forth from the "high tabernacle" to make His home in the lowly tabernacles of human hearts—children's hearts?

Possibly, however, the lady could not appreciate the loving mystery. She lacks the true insight into our Lord's personality; for, as she sees it, "Jesus urged no doctrine, He taught no rigid creeds, He marked no lines, He formed no forms, He advocated no propaganda, He founded no institutions, He emphasized no social order" (p. 17).

Father Herbert Thurston, S.J., has completed his excellent translation of catechetical sermons. (*Popular Sermons on the Catechism.* From the German of the Rev. A. H. Bamberg. Vol. III: The Sacraments. Benziger Bros., New York.) The great need of the faithful is instruction; and the best means of imparting it is the catechetical sermon. More than any other species of pulpit oratory, the catechetical sermon requires moderation and proportion, if the exposition is not to extend over an indefinite period forfeiting both consistency and perspective. Bamberg's sermons are compact; they can easily be preached within three years and cover the entire ground. This splendid result has been obtained through much painstaking planning and judicious trimming. The English garb is very becoming and fits most gracefully.

The liturgy of the Holy Mass is to many of the faithful a sealed book. If properly understood, it would be an inexhaustible well of edification and a source of religious inspiration. As the child's attention and interest are readily aroused and held by the picturesqueness of the beautiful ceremonies surrounding the awful sacrifice, it would be well to begin this instruction at an early age. A little book (*The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.* Explained in the form

of Questions and Answers. By the Rev. Joseph J. Baierl, Rochester, N. Y.), splendidly adapted to this purpose, has just issued from the press in a fourth edition. Language and method are sure to appeal to the mind and heart of the child; but it can also be used with great profit by grown persons. It is true, the illustrations do not come up to the highest artistic standards; but, then, children and plain people are not very exacting art critics.

The Catholic Truth Society of Ireland has recently added to its excellent list of publications a brochure entitled *An Apostle of Our Days,* by R. F. O'Connor. The booklet contains an interesting and well-written biography of Fr. Lacombe, "the black-robed *voyageur* of the Canadian Northwest". A review of the original story of Fr. Lacombe's life as told by Miss Katharine Hughes appeared a few years ago in these pages. The present sketch, brief and succinct, yet withal graphic, as it is, should greatly help toward spreading more widely a knowledge of the venerable missionary who spent three score years of apostolic labor among the Canadian Indians and Metis. (Dublin, 22 Upper O'Connell St.)

The Right Rev. Joseph Oswald Smith, O.S.B., Abbot of Ampleforth, is well known to the clergy and religious communities through his practical meditations on the Ordinary of the Mass and on the Psalms. His recent volume of *Meditations on the Passion* will be found particularly helpful for religious, and indeed for all who take the sufferings of our Lord habitually or occasionally as the subject of mental prayer. The book contains 183 pages, comprising 64 meditations. The latter therefore are relatively brief. They are also *thought-full,* affective, and eminently practical. (Benziger Bros., New York.)

The Burden of Honor by Christine Faber which P. J. Kenedy & Sons (New York) have recently published in their wonted good style, is a story of exceptional interest. There is plenty of plot and action and the splendid lesson of womanly devotion is apparent without being at all obtruded. The characters are true to life and for the most part well drawn. It is a healthy book for young women and they are not likely "to skip" any of its pages when they take it in hand. (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York.)

Among the recent books held over for fuller notice mention should here be made of *The California Padres and Their Missions* by Charles Saunders and J. Smeaton Chase. Though the authors do not share the faith of the heroes whose deeds they narrate, they have the fullest sympathy for their subject and write with an enthusiasm that communicates itself to the reader and makes him almost see the beginnings, the golden age, and the sad destruction of those splendid memorials of zeal and courage. It is a charming book to the eye of the body and of the mind—food for the imagination and the intellect, for the head and the heart. Of it more anon. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.)

If one has made his first acquaintance with the California Missions through the stirring pages of the volume just mentioned, or through any other of the many popular works dealing with the same theme, he may want to be more fully acquainted with the documented history of the subject. He must then go to what is now the classical repertory—*The Missions and Missionaries of California* by Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M. The fourth, which is also the closing, volume of this monumental work, has just appeared. It contains the general history (Part III) of the Upper California Missions. The author disclaims any "intention of producing a learned work or a work of literary merit". None the less he has given us an immense treasury of most valuable and interesting information, presented in an attractive style. We shall have more to tell of it in the next number. (James Barry Co., San Francisco.)

The Catholic Historical Review for October sustains the expectations raised by its first number. The introductory article on Lulworth Castle, the scene of the consecration of Dr. John Carroll, first bishop for the United States, furnishes an interesting contribution to our national Church History. The same is true of the two papers on Catholic Journalism during the first half of the last century, by Dr. Paul Poik, C.S.C., and Catholic Beginnings in the Diocese of Rochester, by Dr. Zwierlein.

Manifestly, the study of Church History is one of the best cultivated branches of study at our Catholic University. This impression is strengthened by the first number of *Seminar* publications from the same source whence issues *The Catholic Historical Review.* The members of the Seminar are not merely reading the courses prescribed; they do original research work which proves to be of great value to both the students of American History and the general apologist. In the latter connexion the study by the Rev. Arthur J. Sawkins, dealing with the "Main Historical Objections made by American non-Catholic Writers against the Church, and the Sources for their Answers", is of particular interest. This and kindred work has the additional merit that it is likely to prove of permanent practical value, not merely in raising the standard of popular scholarship, but also in preparing writers who will sustain a high standard for Catholic literature by their contributions to the better class of American periodicals.

Father Thomas Fred. Price, one of the Founders of the Catholic Foreign Mission Seminary, has just issued through the Devin-Adair Co., of New York, a handsome volume, *Bernardette of Lourdes.* It gives a full account of the life of the maiden to whom the modern world is indebted for the manifestations of the mercies that have taken place for fifty years in the little town at the foot of the Pyrenees. Hitherto we have had abundant information regarding the miracles of Lourdes, accompanied by suitable descriptions of the person of young Bernadette and the locality where she lived. The fact that she entered a community of Sisters, and how she passed her daily life in the convent for a number of years as a professed nun, are not so well known. It is only recently, by reason of the Process of Canonization proposed two years ago, that the details of that life have come to light. The Sisters at Nevers, some of whom had been eye-witnesses of Bernadette's piety in the community, some time since published a volume which adds new matter to the former sketches. The title of the book is "La Confidente de Marie Immaculée". Father Price has used this biography and made its details accessible to English readers. The book is accompanied by a number of excellent illustrations, and is altogether an attractive presentation of an enticing subject. The proceeds of the volume are destined for the work of the Foreign Mission Seminary at Ossining, the Constitutions of which have just received the approbation of the Holy See.

The *Rosary Magazine,* issued by the Dominican Fathers for a number of years, and steadily gaining in public confidence as a medium of religious and entertaining instruction, has recently taken on a new form. The purpose is evidently to give due expression to the features of illustration which have been a characteristic of the magazine from its beginning. Our Catholic literature in this particular field is thus gaining ground. With *Benziger's Magazine, Extension,* and the various missionary monthlies of similar purpose and form, we are capable of furnishing the Catholic reading-room with excellent illustrated matter to strengthen the consciousness of the value of our holy religion.

Books Received.

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

THE "SUMMA THEOLOGICA" OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Part II (First Part). Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Third Number (QQ. XC-CXIV). Benziger Bros., New York. 1915. Pp. 422.

MEDITATIONS ON THE PASSION OF OUR LORD. By the Right Rev. Joseph Oswald Smith, O.S.B., Abbot of Ampleforth. Benziger Bros., New York. 1915. Pp. vi-183. Price, $0.70 *net.*

POPULAR SERMONS ON THE CATECHISM. From the German of the Rev. A. Hubert Bamberg. Edited by the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J. Vol. III: Sacraments. Benziger Bros., New York. 1915. Pp. 450. Price, $1.50 *net.*

THE LORD MY LIGHT. By Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Burns & Oates, London; B. Herder, St. Louis. Pp. 323. Price, $2.00.

COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE MORALIS. A Joanne Petro Gury, S.J., conscriptum et ab Antonio Ballerini, ejusdem Societatis, adnotationibus auctum. Deinde vero ad breviorem formam exaratum atque ad Usum Seminariorum hujus Regionis accomodatum ab Aloysio Sabetti, S.J. in Collegio Woodstockiensi, Md., Theologiae Moralis olim Professore. Editio Vicesima Secunda recognita a Timotheo Barrett, S.J. Frederick Pustet & Co., Ratisbonae, Romae, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati. 1915. Pp. 1159. Price, $3.50 *net.*

LE LIVRE DE LA CONSOLATION. Par Dom Hébrard, Bénédictin de l'Abbaye Saint-Martin, de Ligugé. (*Aux Femmes de France.*) Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris. 1915. Pp. 280. Prix, 2*fr.* 75; 3 *fr. franco.*

SERMON PLANS ON THE SUNDAY EPISTLES. By the Rev. Edmund Carroll, Missionary Rector of St. Mary's, Crayford. Edited by the Very Rev. W. M. Cunningham, V.F. Second edition of Homiletical Sermon Sketches on the Sunday Epistles. The Kingscote Press, London. 1915. Pp. 176. Price, 3/6 *postpaid.*

FOR GREATER THINGS. The Story of St. Stanislaus Kostka. By William T. Kane, S.J. With a Preface by James J. Daly, S.J. B. Herder, St. Louis. Pp. 99. Price, $0.50.

MEDITATIONS FOR LAYFOLK. By Bede Jarrett, O.P. Catholic Truth Society, London; B. Herder, St. Louis. 1915. Pp. 301. Price, $1.10.

SPIRITUAL JOURNAL OF LUCY CHRISTINE (1870-1908). Edited by the Rev. A. Poulain, S.J. Translated from the French. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., London; B. Herder, St. Louis. 1915. Pp. 360. Price, $1.50.

NOVENA TO ST. RITA. And Visits to the Blessed Sacrament. By the Rev. Andrew Klarmann, A.M., author of *Princess of Gan-Sar,* etc. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York. Price, $0.10.

TRES MISSAE in Commemoratione Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum, ad Normam Constit. Apost. Benedicti XV d. 10 Aug., 1915. Pustet: New York.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

LESSONS IN SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY. By Michael W. Shallo, S.J., Former Professor of Philosophy, University of Santa Clara, California. Peter Reilly, Philadelphia; Hirschfeld Bros., Ltd., London. 1915. Pp. 398.

LA PSYCHOLOGIE DE LA CONVERSION. Leçons données a l'Institut Catholique de Paris (1914). Par Th. Mainage de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs. Gabriel Beauchesne ou J. Gabalda, Paris. 1915. Pp. xii-434. Prix, 4 *fr.*; 4 *fr.* 25 *franco.*

BREVIS CURSUS PHILOSOPHIAE juxta Systema Sti Thomae Aquinatis, ad usum Juvenum Studiosorum per Quaesita et Responsa expositus. Auctore Antonio Lechert, M.D.A., Sac. Theol. et Jur. Utr. Doc. Vol. III: Ethica; Philosophia Moralis. Desclee & Socii, Romae (apud Very Rev. A. Lechert, M.D.A., 922 Girard St., Brookland, D. C.). 1915. Pp. 346. Price, $1.00.

WHAT MAY I HOPE? An Inquiry into the Sources and Reasonableness of the Hopes of Humanity, especially the Social and Religious. By George Trumbull Ladd, LL.D. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. 1915. Pp. xvi-310. Price, $1.50 *net.*

HISTORICAL.

ROMA. Ancient, Subterranean, and Modern Rome in Word and Picture. By the Rev. Albert Kuhn, O.S.B., D.D. With Preface by Cardinal Gibbons. Part XI. With 938 illustrations in the text, 40 full-page inserts and 3 plans of Rome. Complete in 18 parts, published bi-monthly. Benziger Bros., New York. 1915. Pp. 32. Price, $0.35 a part; $2.00 a year; $6.00 complete.

THE CALIFORNIA PADRES AND THEIR MISSIONS. By Charles Francis Saunders and J. Smearton Chase. With illustrations. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. 1915. Pp. xi-418. Price, $2.50 *net.*

ST. DOMINIC AND THE ROSARY *or Was He Its Founder?* Being a Correspondence carried on in the Pages of the *Catholic Sentinel,* Portland, Oregon, U. S. A., by the Rev. A. M. Skelly, O.P., the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J., and Another. 1915. Pp. 84. Price, $0.15.

WHO WANTED WAR? The Origin of the War according to Diplomatic Documents. By É. Durkheim and F. Denis, Professors at the University of Paris. Translated by A. M. Wilson-Garinei, Late Student of Newnham College, Cambridge, Modern Languages Tripos. (*Studies and Documents on the War.*) Librairie Armand Colin, Paris. 1915. Pp. 63. Price, 0 *fr.* 50.

L'INTÉRET DE LA FRANCE ET L'INTÉGRITÉ DE L'AUTRICHE-HONGRIE. Par Georges Vielmont. Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris. 1915. Pp. 137. Prix, 2 *fr.* 50; 3 *fr. franco.*

DURCH WESSEN HAND? Kriminalroman von Friedrich Thieme. (*Hausschatzbücher.*) Friedrich Pustet & Co., Regensburg und New York. Seiten 328. Preis, $0.30 (1 *M.*).

DER SCHUTZGEIST DES KAISERS VON BIRMA. Reiseerzählung von Dr. Ugo Mioni. (*Hausschatzbücher.*) Friedrich Pustet & Co., Regensburg und New York. Seiten 350. Preis, $0.30 (1 *M.*).

LA GUERRE QUI L'A VOULUE? D'après les documents diplomatiques. Par Paul Dudon. P. Lethielleux, Paris. 1915. Pp. 61. Prix, 0 *fr.* 50.

LES LECONS DU LIVRE JAUNE (1914). Par Henri Welschinger de l'Institut. (No. 17. "*Pages actuelles*" *1914-1915.*) Bloud & Gay, Paris. 1915. Pp. 141. Prix, 0 *fr.* 60.

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LA GUERRE EUROPÉENNE. Par Albert Sauveur, Professor à Harvard University. Avec une Préface de Henri Le Chatelier de l'Académie des Sciences. (No. 33. "*Pages actuelles*" *1914-1915.*) Bloud & Gay, Paris. 1915. Pp. 70. Prix, 0 *fr.* 60.

CHIFFONS DE PAPIER. Ce qu'il faut savoir des Origines de la Guerre de 1914. Par Daniel Bellet, Lauréat de l'Institut, Secrétaire perpétuel de la Société d'Économie Politique de Paris, Professeur a l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques et a l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales. Plon-Nourrit & Cie, Paris. 1915. Pp. 57. Prix, 0 *fr.* 50.